LIBERIA Vol. I

3

DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
7A	report	Biography	n.d.	B
46	telegram	Amemb Monrovia to SecState	11/6/70	B
69	telegram	Amemb Monrovia to SecState	7/26/71	B
78	telegram	Amemb Monrovia to SecState	4/9/71	B
79	telegram	Amemb Monrovia to SecState	4/8/71	B
80	telegram	Amemb Monrovia to SecState	4/7/71	B
84	telegram	Amemb Monrovia to SecState	3/12/70	B
110	telegram	SecState to White House	5/1/71	B

FILE GROUP TITLE NSC

BOX NUMBER 738

FOLDER TITLE 3

RESTRICTION CODES

A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy.
B. National security classified information.
C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights.
D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person.
E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information.
F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes.
G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.
H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION-8430

SECRET

MAR 16 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger /S/

SUBJECT: Invitations to Presidents Tolbert and Frangie

I understand you have disapproved extending invitations to Presidents Tolbert of Liberia and Frangie of Lebanon to visit you in 1973.

I am concerned that your decision not to invite President Tolbert for a State visit may have an undesirable impact on U.S.-Liberian relations. As you know, Tolbert has been trying very hard to see you since his assumption of power in 1971, but we have put him off. In October 1971, you wrote Tolbert that "even though our heavy schedules...may preclude, for the time being, a more formal kind of visit, I share your hope that we will, nonetheless, be able to find a mutually convenient opportunity to renew our old friendship." Mrs. Nixon was later received in Liberia as a Head of State. Throughout 1972, Tolbert kept putting out feelers for an invitation, and we kept turning them down. A new turndown would follow our recent termination of grant military assistance and our inability to supply needed PL-480 rice in 1973 or 1974.

I fear that continued avoidance of a Tolbert visit will convince him that our recent actions indicate American disinterest in Liberia. This could present problems for our private investors there, whose stake is $375 million, or possibly complicate our use of Liberia as a communications and military transit center. I, therefore, urge you either to invite Tolbert for a State visit in 1973, or let him know that you hope to receive him, and offer a dinner in his honor if he comes on a private visit in June 1973 (he has been invited by San Francisco State and Grambling College).

RECOMMENDATIONS:

That you invite Tolbert for a State visit during the first half of 1973, possibly in June.

Approve_____ Disapprove_____

or

That you authorize our informing Tolbert that you would like to receiv him for an office call, if he visits the U.S. privately in June, and offer a dinner in his honor.

Approve_____ Disapprove_____

SECRET

Secretary Rogers has again very strongly recommended (Tab A) an invitation to President Frangie of Lebanon this year, and I concur. Lebanon is both a traditional U. S. friend and preserving stability there is important in avoiding another Mid East crisis. While the Jordanians, Israelis and Saudis have averaged three to four visits each during your first term, the Lebanese have not come at all. You did invite former President Helou in 1970 but he was unable to come for political reasons. Frangie, who has turned out to be a much stronger leader, has all but asked to pick up that unused invitation. The Soviets want him to visit this year but he would prefer to see you first.

There are several things which the Lebanese must continue to do, despite the risks involved for domestic stability and they depend on confidence in the U. S.: 1) Crack down on the Fedayeen operating against Israel. Frangie has cooperated in doing this and in large part Lebanese army determination, following Israeli reprisals, has meant a relatively quiet border for some time. 2) Crack down on terrorists operating from Beirut. Especially since the Sudan tragedy, we are going to be pressing harder on the Lebanese to move against obvious Fedayeen leaders.

As a fallback, the Secretary recommends at least that our Ambassador in Beirut be able to indicate to Frangie that you hope to invite him during 1974.

Recommendations:

That you invite Frangie for a State visit in 1973.

Approve_____ Disapprove_____

That you promise Frangie a State visit in 1974.

Approve_____ Disapprove_____

Disapprove visit for 1973, but would consider in 1974_____
(i. e. same decision as previously made)

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION - 8430 (1249)

SECRET

March 14, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KISSINGER

FROM: Jeanne W. Davis

SUBJECT: Reclama on Presidential Disapprovals of Visits by Tolbert of Liberia and Frangie of Lebanon

Attached for your signature at Tab I is a memorandum to the President asking that he reconsider his disapproval of invitations to Tolbert of Liberia and Frangie of Lebanon for US visits in 1973. Both State and the NSC staff believe strongly that these disapprovals should be appealed, and Secretary Rogers has forwarded a reclama at Tab A supporting an invitation to Frangie.

Recommendation:

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

I

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Revised

ACTION - 8430

CONFIDENTIAL

February 27, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KISSINGER

FROM: Jeanne W. Davis

SUBJECT: Reclama on Presidential Disapprovals of Visits by Tolbert of Liberia and Tanaka of Japan

Attached for your signature at Tab A is a memorandum to the President asking that he reconsider his disapproval of invitations to Tolbert of Liberia and ~~Tanaka~~ Prime Minister Nixon of ~~Japan~~ for US visits in 1973. Both State and the NSC staff believe strongly that these disapprovals should be appealed. The memo also ~~stresses the desirability of scheduling the visit of Emperor Hirohito in the fall, as originally recommended, rather than in May, as approved.~~

Recommendation:

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab A.

and Secretary Rogers have forwarded a reclama of FAB A supporting invitation to Tolbert.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION - 8430

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger

SUBJECT: Invitations to President Tolbert and Prime Minister Tanaka; Scheduling Emperor Hirohito's Visit

I understand you have disapproved extending invitations to President Tolbert of Liberia and Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan to visit you in 1973.

I am concerned that your decision not to invite President Tolbert for a State visit may have an undesirable impact on US-Liberian relations. As you know, Tolbert has been trying very hard to see you since his assumption of power in 1971, but we have put him off. In October 1971, you wrote Tolbert that "even though our heavy schedules... may preclude, for the time being, a more formal kind of visit, I share your hope that we will, nonetheless, be able to find a mutually convenient opportunity to renew our old friendship." Mrs. Nixon was later received in Liberia as a Head of State. Throughout 1972, Tolbert kept putting out feelers for an invitation, and we kept turning them down. A new turndown would follow our recent termination of grant military assistance and our inability to supply needed PL-480 rice in 1973 and 1974.

Frankly, I do not see how we can keep avoiding a Tolbert visit without his concluding that our recent actions indicate American disinterest in Liberia. This could present problems for our private investors there, whose stake is $375 million, or possibly complicate our use of Liberia as a communications and military transit center. I, therefore, strongly urge you either to invite Tolbert for a State visit in 1973, or let him know that you hope to receive him, and offer a dinner in his honor if he comes on a private visit in June 1973 (he has been invited by San Francisco State and Grambling College).

Recommendations:

That you invite Tolbert for a State visit during the first half of 1973, possibly in June.

Approve_____ Disapprove_____

OR

That you authorize our informing Tolbert that you would like to receive him for an office call, if he visits the US privately in June, and offer a dinner in his honor.

Approve_____ Disapprove_____

The visit of the Emperor and Empress of Japan has been approved for May. This conflicts with the strong desire expressed by the Emperor, and recommended by State, to make the visit next fall before mid-November. The Emperor, now 79, wants to avoid the strain of a visit during the summer months. In addition, the Emperor's staff has indicated that it would not be possible to prepare for the visit by May. I told Prime Minister Tanaka during my recent Tokyo visit that we believed an October date would be satisfactory. I, therefore, recommend rescheduling their visit to October, or September, if your scheduledpermits.

Approve rescheduling Emperor Hirohito visit to:

September_____
October_____
Other_____

Disapprove_____

You have indicated disapproval of a visit by Prime Minister Tanaka this year. Last September in Hawaii, you invited Prime Minister Tanaka to visit the US some time this year, and I reiterated this invitation during my recent Tokyo visit. Tanaka has expressed a strong desire for the visit, and has said that he would be free after the current Diet session ends (probably in June or July). An informal working visit, rather than a full state visit, would be satisfactory, but Tanaka has indicated that he would hope to be received in Washington, since the last two visits by Japanese Prime Ministers were held outside of Washington. Therefore, I strongly recommend you approve an invitation for a visit by Prime Minister Tanaka during the first half of the year.

Approve invitation to Prime Minister Tanaka during the first half of the year_____

Disapprove_____

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 13, 1973

NSC/S

#1249: We have done a small summary of Rogers memo and have transferred that and original with folder to Mrs. Davis who is doing an overall memo on xxx visits being reconsidered for 1973. Transfer 1249 to her.

rosemary neaher

For Visits memo from HHSaunders 3/13/73
Taken to Carol 3, by rn

1249
NSC/S
copy

--President Frangie of Lebanon: Secretary Rogers has again very recommended [Tab ____] an invitation to Frangie this year and I concur. Lebanon is both a traditional US friend and preserving stability there is important in avoiding another Mid East crisis. While the Jordanians, Israelis and Saudis have averaged three-four visits each during your first term, the Lebanese have not come at all. You did invite former President Helou in 1970 but he was unable to come for political reasons. Frangie, who has turned out to be a much stronger leader, has all but asked to pick up that unused invitation. The Soviets want him to visit this year but he would prefer to see you first.

There are several things which the Lebanese must continue to do, despite the risks involved for ~~the~~ domestic stability and they depend on confidence in the US: (1) Crack down on the fedayeen operating against Israel. Frangie has cooperated in doing this and in large part Lebanese army determination, following Israeli reprisals, has meant a relatively quiet border for some time. (2) Crack down on terrorists operating from Beirut. Especially since the Sudan tragedy, we are going to be pressing harder on the Lebanese to move against obvious fedayeen leaders.

As a fallback, the Secretary recommends at least that our Ambassador in Beirut be able to indicate to Frangie that you hope to invite him during 1974.

Invite Frangie for 1973 _____

Promise Frangie a visit for 1974 _____

Disapprove visit for 1973 but will reconsider for 1974 _____
(same decision as previously made)

7303706

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

NSC #1249

March 8, 1973

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Invitation to President Frangie of Lebanon

We have been informed that President Suleiman Frangie of Lebanon, who was one of the foreign leaders proposed in my memorandum of December 11, 1972, on state and official visits, is not currently slated for invitation this year. I am concerned that failure to invite President Frangie could be misunderstood and raise doubts among Lebanon's pro-Western leadership about the importance we attach to Lebanon, with unfortunate psychological effects for U.S.-Lebanese relations. As in the case of Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Israel--whose leaders have visited you in Washington--a Lebanon confident in us is a stabilizing factor in the area and in the strengthening of our position there as we explore ways to move the parties toward peace. A visit by President Frangie to Washington would do much to cement that confidence. Accordingly, I would like to ask you to take another look at this matter.

Early in 1972 President Frangie expressed a clear interest in visiting the United States. Subsequently, senior Lebanese officials have told us that he continues very much to want to make a visit here and hopes for an invitation in 1973. Lebanon's political stability and its pro-Western orientation derive in large measure from its

SECRET

GDS-DECLAS. December 31, 1981

President, who alone has the authority and the prestige to take decisive action on controversial issues. Unlike certain of his predecessors, President Frangie has shown himself to be both a strong and wise President; he has preserved stability, has eschewed resort to demagoguery, and has maintained and even strengthened Lebanon's traditional friendship with the United States.

In the fall of 1972, President Frangie took the decision to clear the Lebanese/Israeli border of Arab guerrilla forces and to bring the guerrillas under control. This step, which we encouraged him to take, was a major one, involving a large element of risk for President Frangie, both domestically and vis-a-vis the radical Arab states, particularly Syria. It required courage and determination. It is in part thanks to this action of President Frangie's that the Middle East was, relatively, so quiet during the last months of 1972 and early this year. Lebanon's position in regard to Fedayeen, and particularly extremist terrorist groups like the Black September Organization, is one of the subjects we would want to discuss with President Frangie if he comes to this country.

It would be unfortunate if President Frangie should come to doubt our support for him and his policies of friendship toward the United States and restraint on the Fedayeen. The issue of an invitation to President Frangie has been made even more sensitive now, since the Soviet Union has invited him for a visit during 1973.

I recommend that you invite President Frangie to make a state visit to the United States this year. If in view of your schedule you do not feel that this is possible, I strongly urge that you authorize me to instruct Ambassador Buffum now to tell President Frangie that you hope he will be able to make a state visit to this country at a mutually agreeable date during 1974.

William P. Rogers

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	LOG NBR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
12	11	12	11	16	0430	Davis

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES X
KISSINGER
HAIG

FROM: ELIOT
ROGERS, W X
LAIRD, M

U
LOU
C
S X
TS

LOG IN/OUT ONLY
NO FORN
BUO
EYES ONLY
CODE WORD
SENSITIVE

NODIS
EXDIS
LIMDIS
RES DATA

SUBJECT: State Recommended Official Visits for 1973

REFERENCE: S/S 7218592 OTHER NOT XEROXED

APP'TS: PRES HAK TALKER MEMCON DATE REQ.

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG			
STAFF SECRETARY	X		
FAR EAST			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA			
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA			
EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ( )
MEMO FOR PRES. (X)
REPLY FOR SIGNATURE ( )
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ( )
MEMO TO ( )
RECOMMENDATIONS ( )
JOINT MEMO ( )
REFER TO STATE ( )
ANY ACTION NECESSARY ( )
CONCURRENCE ( )
DUE DATE: 12/18

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
12/20	JWK	NSCLS		Forwarded to HAK	
12/30	DAVIS	HAK	X	Pres for decision (12/28)	
12/27	HAK	DAVIS	S	Forwarded action (01/04)	
12/29	DAVIS	HAK	X	Pres for decision 01/06	
1/15	DAVIS	HAK	X	Pres for decision (1/20)	
JAN 24 1973	HAK	Pres	P	Decision	
2/7		Porter	D	HAK signed memo to the Pres	(2/14) JWD

CROSS REF WITH NSCLS NOTIFY memo to SIS (DKR) DATE 2/22

SEE LOG DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO advising of decision

MICROFILM DATA

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

2/27		HAK	X	Pres for decision	
3/5	JS	DAVIS	S	Recalled / Redo (3/10)	
3/13	NSCLS			Forwarded to HAK; log number 1249 combined into this.	
3/14		HAK	X	Pres for decision (3/20)	
3-19	HAK	Pres	P	Decision	

NSC/S DISP INSTR

DISPATCH NOTIFY & DATE
SPECIAL DISPOSITION)
OR RECORD COMMENT:)
CY RQMTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS:

CROSS REF W/ JOINED BY LOG # 1249

SEE # FOR FINAL ACTION & FILING.

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED:

MICROFILM & FILE RQMTS:

M/F'D ✓ BY

CYS FOR) SA
) HP
ORIG) WH
TO) PA ✓
4/9/73) SF
) NS
) EP
DESTROY) DY

7672

7216990

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C 20520

October 26, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Visit of President Tolbert of Liberia Canceled

Liberian Minister of Foreign Affairs Weeks told the Secretary on September 29 President Tolbert had agreed to represent the Organization of African Unity at the current Session of the United Nations General Assembly. On the basis of this and other corroborating information, the Secretary recommended October 16 that the President receive Tolbert for an Office Call November 16, 17 or 18.

Foreign Minister Weeks informed our Charge in Monrovia October 19 that it was unlikely that President Tolbert would travel to the UNGA in November as planned. Weeks had recommended against travel at that time because he thought it might be difficult for President Nixon to receive Tolbert and that it might complicate a more formal visit by Tolbert at a later time.

In light of this most recent development, please withdraw the recommendation in the October 16 Memorandum to the President that he receive President Tolbert on November 16, 17 or 18.

RSMiller

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

CLASSIFIED BY O. R. AGGREY
SUBJECT TO GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
AUTOMATICALLY DOWNGRADED AT TWO '78
YEAR INTERVALS AND DECLASSIFIED ON DEC. 31

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO DA	RECD MO DA HR	LOG NBR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
10 26	10 27 10	7672	

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES ____ KISSINGER ____ HAIG ____

FROM: ELIOT ____ ROGERS, W ____ LAIRD, M ____

U ____ LOU ____ C ____ S ____ TS ____

LOG IN/OUT ONLY ____ NO FORN ____ BUO ____ EYES ONLY ____ CODE WORD ____ SENSITIVE ____

NODIS ____ EXDIS ____ LIMDIS ____ RES DATA ____

SUBJECT: Cancellation of Visit to US By President TOLBERT of LIBERIA.

REFERENCE: S/S 7216950 OTHER ____ NOT XEROXED ____

APP'TS: PRES ____ HAK ____ TALKER ____ MEMCON ____ DATE REQ. ____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG			
STAFF SECRETARY			
FAR EAST			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA		X	
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA			
EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ( )
MEMO FOR PRES. ( )
REPLY FOR ____ SIGNATURE ( )
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ( )
MEMO ____ TO ____ ( )
RECOMMENDATIONS ( )
JOINT MEMO ( )
REFER TO STATE ( )
ANY ACTION NECESSARY ( )
CONCURRENCE ( )
DUE DATE:

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
	M/R	Logged for record purposes only. OBE on receipt.			

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH ____ NOTIFY ____ DATE ____

SEE LOG ____ DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO ____

JOINED BY LOG ____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) ____

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: ____ SA, ____ HP, ____ HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: ____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES ____ NO ____

MICROFILM DATA

DO ____ INIT ____ DATE ____

OCT 30 1972

~~ORIG~~ Cy TO) NSC ✓ PAF ✓ WHC ✓ SUBF ____

☆ GPO: 1972-455-927

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 17, 1972

General Haig:

Terry O'Donnell said word has been received that Liberian President Tolbert does not want to visit the U.S. until after the New Year.

Therefore, the schedule proposal does not now have to be prepared by us.

Shall I advise Jeanne Davis and Fred Rondon?

Yes ✓ No____

Lora

L Dwight Chapin

Done

7470
7216255

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Visit of President Tolbert of Liberia

President Tolbert of Liberia, as one of the Vice Presidents of the Organization of African Unity, plans to be in the United States for several days beginning November 16 to represent the OAU at the United Nations General Assembly. He would substitute for this year's OAU President, King Hassan, at the latter's request because Hassan finds it impossible to leave Morocco at this time. One of Tolbert's motives in accepting the OAU mission was probably his hope of meeting with you. King Hassan was undoubtedly aware of your personal friendship with Tolbert in selecting him.

Since he assumed office in July 1971, President Tolbert has repeatedly expressed his strong desire to call upon you. You have written to President Tolbert that you look forward to a meeting at a mutually convenient time. Given our long and in many ways unique relationship with Liberia, our considerable investment and other interests there, and the importance President Tolbert attaches to a public display of United States support, we would have recommended a State Visit for President Tolbert soon after he became President if your schedule had permitted. While the Liberians continue to desire an eventual State Visit for President Tolbert, his trip to the United States in November would present an excellent opportunity for you to receive him informally.

I recommend that you receive President Tolbert for an office call on November 16, 17 or 18 while he is in the United States representing the OAU.

William P. Rogers

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	LOG NBR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
10	16	10	17	9	7170	Rondon

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES X
KISSINGER
HAIG

FROM: ELIOT
ROGERS, W X
LAIRD, M

U X
LOU
C
'S
TS

LOG IN/OUT ONLY
NO FORN — NODIS
BUO — EXDIS
EYES ONLY — LIMDIS
CODE WORD — RES DATA
SENSITIVE

SUBJECT: Request appt w/ Pres for President Tolbert of Liberia & also a VP of Org of African Unity

REFERENCE: S/S 7216255 OTHER NOT XEROXED

APP'TS: PRES HAK TALKER MEMCON DATE REQ.

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG		X	
STAFF SECRETARY			
FAR EAST			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	X		
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA			
EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ( )
MEMO FOR PRES. (X)
REPLY FOR SIGNATURE ( )
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ( )
MEMO TO ( )
RECOMMENDATIONS (X)
JOINT MEMO ( )
REFER TO STATE ( )
ANY ACTION NECESSARY ( )
CONCURRENCE ( )
DUE DATE: 10/20

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
10/17	FR	NSC/S	C	OBE. Tolbert not coming. FAR	

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH 7344X NOTIFY DATE

SEE LOG DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO

JOINED BY LOG COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE)

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: SA, HP, HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS:

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES NO

MICROFILM DATA
DO
INIT
DATE
OCT 19 1972
ORIG)
TO)
NSC
PAF
WHC
SUBF

☆ GPO: 1972-455-927

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL (EYES ONLY)

7344 - X

~~October 11,~~ 1972

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL HAIG

FROM: Fred Rondon

SUBJECT: Visit for President Tolbert of Liberia
(Reference: Dwight Chapin's memo to you of October 7)

Send B to Chapin.

President Tolbert of Liberia has passed the word through John Mitchell to Dwight Chapin that he plans to visit the United Nations in late November but will not come to the United States if he cannot, at least, call on the President. Chapin asks whether the freeze on State Visits might be lifted for Tolbert. He wants your recommendation (see Tab C).

Although we have not yet received a formal request from State, it is my understanding that they will request an office call for Tolbert sometime after November 16, when he arrives in New York to address the United Nations on behalf of the Organization of African Unity. If need be, this office call might take place in Key Biscayne or San Clemente.

The problem is that an office call would not be commensurate with the previous great hospitality Tolbert has afforded to Mrs. Nixon, Robert Finch, Billy Graham, and many prominent black Americans. Secondly, it would not live up to the special ties that exist between Liberia and the United States, which will continue to demand a State Visit -- and why not get it over with now? Third, another rebuff to Tolbert, who has been trying to visit Washington since his inheritance of the Liberian Presidency in July 1971 might raise basic questions in his mind about future US-Liberian relations and result in economic policies detrimental to US companies in Liberia. Finally, it would fuel arguments that this Administration has no time for Africa (the last African State Visitor was Mobutu in August 1970).

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. State Visit. That we pursue the possibility of a State Visit for Tolbert in late November and that you so indicate to Chapin by initialing the memorandum for him at Tab A.

No Nixon policy is being changed this.

Agree _____ Disagree _____.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL (EYES ONLY)

2. Office Call. If a State Visit is out of the question, that you initial the memorandum for Dwight Chapin at Tab B which indicates we will propose an office call and shortly submit a schedule proposal with the details.

Agree ✓ Disagree _____.

3. Informing Tolbert. So that Tolbert can plan his UN trip, that you authorize the Department of State to ask our Charge in Liberia to inform Tolbert the President understands he will be visiting New York in late November and that if mutually satisfactory arrangements can be made, the President would welcome an office call.

Agree _____ Disagree _____.

Cripes! I can't do this unless Chapin says Pres will do!

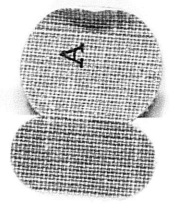
Concurrence: Jeanne Davis

Attachments:

Tab A - Suggested memorandum to Chapin, proposing State Visit.

Tab B - Suggested memorandum to Chapin, suggesting Office Call.

Tab C - Dwight Chapin's memorandum to you, October 7.


A

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY
CONFIDENTIAL
-EYES ONLY-

7344-X

MEMORANDUM FOR DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM: GENERAL HAIG

SUBJECT: Possible Visit of Liberian President Tolbert

In response to your October 7 note, we are looking into the desirability of a State Visit for Liberian President Tolbert and will shortly prepare a memorandum for the President on this subject.

At this point, we do not wish Tolbert to know that a State Visit is even a remote possibility. If such a visit does not materialize, we will recommend an office call. You might wish to inform John Mitchell that an office call will be arranged if the President's schedule permits.

ADMINISTRATIVELY
CONFIDENTIAL
-EYES ONLY-

B

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL (EYES ONLY)

7344 - X

October 11, 1972

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL HAIG

FROM: Fred Rondon

SUBJECT: Visit for President Tolbert of Liberia
(Reference: Dwight Chapin's memo to you of October 7)

Send to Dwight Chapin.

President Tolbert of Liberia has passed the word through John Mitchell to Dwight Chapin that he plans to visit the United Nations in late November but will not come to the United States if he cannot, at least, call on the President. Chapin asks whether the freeze on State Visits might be lifted for Tolbert. He wants your recommendation (see Tab C).

Although we have not yet received a formal request from State, it is my understanding that they will request an office call for Tolbert sometime after November 16, when he arrives in New York to address the United Nations on behalf of the Organization of African Unity. If need be, this office call might take place in Key Biscayne or San Clemente.

The problem is that an office call would not be commensurate with the previous great hospitality Tolbert has afforded to Mrs. Nixon, Robert Finch, Billy Graham, and many prominent black Americans. Secondly, it would not live up to the special ties that exist between Liberia and the United States, which will continue to demand a State Visit -- and why not get it over with now? Third, another rebuff to Tolbert, who has been trying to visit Washington since his inheritance of the Liberian Presidency in July 1971 might raise basic questions in his mind about future US-Liberian relations and result in economic policies detrimental to US companies in Liberia. Finally, it would fuel arguments that this Administration has no time for Africa (the last African State Visitor was Mobutu in August 1970).

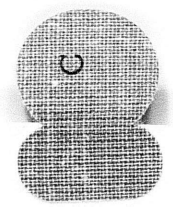
RECOMMENDATIONS

1. State Visit. That we pursue the possibility of a State Visit for Tolbert in late November and that you so indicate to Chapin by initialling the memorandum for him at Tab A.

No Nixon policy change this.

Agree _____ Disagree _____.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL (EYES ONLY)



MEMORANDUM

For identification
1344X

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 7, 1972

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL ALEXANDER HAIG

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

John Mitchell called and said that the President of Liberia whose name is Tolbert wants to come in and address the United Nations the end of November. He will not come unless the President will see him. He does not want it to be an official visit; all he wants is an office visit.

This request has come from a General Olmstead. They did not want it to come through official channels since President Tolbert did not want to receive an official turndown.

As you will recall, we sent Billy Graham, Mrs. Nixon, and others to President Tolbert's inauguration. I know there is a freeze on having state visits until the first of the year but perhaps the President might see Tolbert as an exception. What is your recommendation?

5606

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Send to Butterfield

July 19, 1972
INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL HAIG

FROM: Fred Rondon FAR

SUBJECT: US Ambassador to Liberia Dies

Cy sent HRH 7/19/72

Samuel Z. Westerfield, one of President Nixon's black ambassadorial appointments, died of a heart attack this morning in Monrovia. He was 52 years old at the time of his death.

At the request of his widow, theDepartment of State is paying for an Air Force aircraft to return the Ambassador's body to Washington, where he resided. State was initially opposed to a special aircraft due to its cost. Nonetheless, given the precedent of another American Ambassador who died in Liberia in 1955 and was returned by special aircraft, and not wishing to give any possible offense to the black American community, State decided to provide the aircraft.

A Presidential letter of condolence is being prepared for the widow.

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	LOG NBR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
7	19	7	19	16	5006	

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES ____ KISSINGER X HAIG ____

FROM: ELIOT ____ ROGERS, W ____ LAIRD, M ____ Rondon

U X LOU ____ C ____ S ____ TS ____

LOG IN/OUT ONLY ____ NO FORN ____ BUO ____ EYES ONLY ____ CODE WORD ____ SENSITIVE ____ NODIS ____ EXDIS ____ LIMDIS ____ RES DATA ____

SUBJECT: Status Report on Death of Amb Westerfield in Liberia

REFERENCE: S/S ____ OTHER ____ NOT XEROXED ____

APP'TS: PRES ____ HAK ____ TALKER ____ MEMCON ____ DATE REQ. ____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG			
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EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
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PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
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ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ( )
MEMO FOR PRES. ( )
REPLY FOR ____ SIGNATURE ( )
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RECOMMENDATIONS ( )
JOINT MEMO ( )
REFER TO STATE ( )
ANY ACTION NECESSARY ( )
CONCURRENCE ( )
DUE DATE:

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

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DISPOSITION

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JOINED BY LOG ____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) ____

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: ____ SA, ____ HP, ____ HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: Cy Sent Westerfield

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES ____ NO ____

MICROFILM DATA
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JUL 21 1972
ORIG) NSC ____
TO) PAF ____
WHC ____
SUBF ____

☆ GPO: 1972-455-927

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4/5

AL -
OBE.

Rogers saw
the guys & the
question didn't
come up.

M

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (2817)

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

March 31, 1972
ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR HENRY KISSINGER

FROM: Melvin H. Levine

SUBJECT: Office Call for President Tolbert of Liberia

The subject of an appointment for President Tolbert of Liberia to see the President will come up again on Tuesday, April 4, when Secretary Rogers receives Tolbert's brother. Our guidance is sought.

State proposes (at Tab B) that Rogers explain why an official visit for Tolbert is impossible this year but that the Secretary offer to help arrange a private call. This may not entirely satisfy Tolbert who hosted Mrs. Nixon earlier this year and who looks upon the United States as Liberia's big brother, but it seems to be the best we can do. We have no idea when Tolbert might come. He has an open invitation to pay a State Visit to Canada but has held off setting a date in hopes of firming up a visit to Washington.

State suggests leaving open the possibility of a 1973 visit. Since we refused to let Mrs. Nixon discuss such future visits during her African trip, I assume the same guidance applies now.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize the attached reply (at Tab A) to State. Jeanne Davis concurs.

Approve HK Disapprove _____

Attachments:

Tab A - Suggested response to State.
Tab B - State memo (Eliot to Kissinger), March 31, 1972.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Limited Official Use

March 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR

Mr. Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Visit of Liberian Secretary of the Treasury Stephen A. Tolbert (S/S 7205900)

We concur in your proposed handling of the question of a U.S. visit by President Tolbert this year, should it be raised by Stephen Tolbert in his call on the Secretary. Tolbert should understand that, even if the President should decide to come to the U.S. informally, we can give no assurances that it would be possible to arrange a private office call, but would try to accommodate him if President Nixon's schedule allows. We would prefer that the question of a 1973 visit not be raised.

Jeanne W. Davis
Staff Secretary

Limited Official Use

2877

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

S/S 7205900

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

March 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Visit of Liberian Secretary of the Treasury, Stephen A. Tolbert

Liberian Secretary of the Treasury, Stephen A. Tolbert is calling on Secretary Rogers at 11:30 a.m., Tuesday, April 4. We expect he may raise the question of a visit by President Tolbert to the United States in 1972 to meet with President Nixon. Unless you have objections we propose to tell Tolbert that the President's schedule is heavily committed, and that election year demands make an official visit this year impossible. We will leave open the possibility of a 1973 visit and will offer to help arrange an office call on the President if President Tolbert comes to the U.S. privately this year.

R. T. C.
for Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

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DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES ____ KISSINGER X ____ HAIG ____

FROM: ELIOT X ____ ROGERS, W ____ LAIRD, M ____

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NO FORN ____ BUO ____ EYES ONLY ____ CODE WORD ____ SENSITIVE ____

NODIS ____ EXDIS ____ LIMDIS ____ RES DATA ____

SUBJECT: VISIT OF LIBERIAN SEC OF THE TREASURY, STEPHEN A. TALBERT.

REFERENCE: S/S 7205900 OTHER ____ NOT XEROXED ____

APP'TS: PRES ____ HAK ____ TALKER ____ MEMCON ____ DATE REQ. ____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG			
STAFF SECRETARY			
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EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
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NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK (____)
MEMO FOR PRES. (____)
REPLY FOR ____ SIGNATURE (____)
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH (____)
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RECOMMENDATIONS (____)
JOINT MEMO (____)
REFER TO STATE (____)
ANY ACTION NECESSARY (____)
CONCURRENCE (XX)
DUE DATE: 4/2

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

Original to Rondon. Send PF only.

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

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3/31		WH	X	Decision 4/6	
4/5				OBE'd by WH	
4/5		Davis	S	Notify State? (4/7)	
4/6				Ope per JWD	

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH ____ NOTIFY ____ DATE ____

SEE LOG ____ DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO ____

JOINED BY LOG ____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) ____

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: ____ SA, ____ HP, ____ HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: ____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES ____ NO ____

MICROFILM DATA

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☆ GPO: 1972-455-927

7206066

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

CONFIDENTIAL Attachments

March 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Meeting of Stephen A. Tolbert, Secretary of the Treasury of Liberia with Counselor Finch

I understand Secretary Tolbert, accompanied by Ambassador Peal, will call on Counselor Finch at 1600 hours Monday, April 3.

Attached for Counselor Finch's background are talking points and biographic data. The talking points were prepared for use by Secretary Rogers and Assistant Secretary Newsom when Tolbert calls on them next week.

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Talking points prepared for Secretary Rogers
2. Talking points prepared for Assistant Secretary Newsom
3. Biographic sketch

CONFIDENTIAL Attachments

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BRIEFING PAPER

Issues and Talking Points

Issues He May Raise

Visit to US by President Tolbert

Although President Tolbert seems to have accepted the fact that a State Visit is not possible, he still harbors the wish to see President Nixon this year. President Tolbert has an outstanding invitation to visit Canada (no date has been set) and several universities are known to be disposed to give him an honorary degree should he come at commencement time.

He May

-- Raise the question of a visit to the US by President Tolbert to meet with President Nixon.

We Recommend

-- You explain that the President's schedule is heavily committed, that election year demands make an official visit in 1972 impossible and encourage the idea of a 1973 visit.

He May

-- Ask if an office visit at the White House could be arranged either en route to or from a visit this year to Canada or if President Tolbert came to the US at commencement time.

We Recommend

-- Given our close ties with Liberia and President Nixon's personal relationship with President Tolbert, you indicate that under those circumstances we would make every effort to arrange a meeting with President Nixon.

U.S. Aid to Liberia

He May

-- Express concern over decreasing US aid to Liberia.

We Recommend

-- You explain the increasing constraints on US foreign assistance--both economic and military--but point out US grant assistance to Liberia has continued at high levels and, on a per capita basis, remains one of the largest grant programs in the world. Assure Tolbert that our close ties with Liberia are important to us, that we value Liberia's friendship and cooperation, and that we will continue to assist in Liberia's development. We are always prepared to examine feasible projects that meet our mutual assistance objectives.

DEPARTMENT OF STAT
BRIEFING PAPER

Talking Points

General: As you are aware Steve Tolbert is - aside from his brother, the President - the most influential individual in Liberia and very likely the man who exerts the most influence on the President. Secretary Tolbert's character, abilities and dynamism make it possible for him to be a significant force - either positively or negatively in Liberia. It is too early to know which way he will direct most of his energies. He has already caused considerable grumbling in the Treasury Department but IMF officers feel that Tolbert's moves there have been needed ones which should improve his Department's performance over the long run. One area in which Steve Tolbert will probably weigh in heavily is private foreign investment. He believes the concession agreements are far too lenient and that Liberia does not receive a fair share of the profits realized from the exploitation of its resources.

US Visit by President Tolbert

President Tolbert, while apparently accepting that a State Visit in 1972 is not possible, still hopes for a meeting with President Nixon this year. We understand Reverend Graham has been in touch with Mr. Haldeman and the question of a visit has not been discouraged. Nevertheless, we feel there is no alternative to complying with official White House instructions, i.e. we should be negative on approaches for 1972 visits.

President Tolbert has an open invitation to visit Canada and we know a number of colleges are disposed to award President Tolbert an honorary degree should he come to the United States about commencement time. We have suggested in the Secretary's briefing paper that he indicate we would make every effort to arrange a meeting with President Nixon if President Tolbert should visit Canada or the United States this year. I recommend you take the same approach.

US Assistance

Dr. Adams has just visited Liberia. The Liberians, however, continue to be uneasy over US intentions. Although it will not be satisfactory to Tolbert, there is little we can say about US aid to Liberia except to explain the very severe constraints placed on our foreign economic and military assistance programs by Congress and to assure Tolbert we

remain committed to helping Liberia attain its development goals. You might point out that in the face of decreasing budgets, grant assistance to Liberia has continued at high levels (just under $5 million on each of the last two fiscal years). While there have been no development loans in the past two years, this has been a function of the lack of feasible projects on which to move forward. You might also say that there is no particular annual limit or share of US assistance allocated to Liberia. We are always prepared to consider proposals put forward which are feasible and meet our mutual development objectives.

US-Liberia Relations

Steve Tolbert has on more than one occasion questioned what the true nature of the US-Liberia relationship is. This subject is, of course, closely related to the question of US assistance. In essence, he is saying visits and protocolar niceties are fine, but the proof of the pudding is in the tangible things you do for us.

The Liberians feel they have upheld their end of the "special relationship"--access rights, VOA, telecommunications center, unstinted support for U.S. initiatives--but are not satisfied the U.S. is sufficiently appreciative. The Liberians believe other African countries get the best of it-- large doses of aid from the metropole plus IBRD, UNDP, etc. while Liberia does not stand to gain or even hold the line from a U.S. shift in emphasis from bilateral to multilateral channels of aid. Again there is little you can say that will change Tolbert's position. You might take the approach that sums of assistance are not the only measure of friendship.

You might also frankly apprise Secretary Tolbert of the processes involved in determining foreign assistance allocations and the stringent requirements placed on AID by Congress and the GAO. In this connection you might mention that one of the difficulties in the past in Liberia has been the question of economic feasibility of some proposals. A good example is the Harper Port project which President Tubman had wanted and our inability to be responsive caused some friction in our relations. We who work continuingly on US-Liberia relations do our best to direct U.S. policy to Liberia's

legitimate needs but we are in keen competition for limited resources. The key, it seems, is well conceived, economically feasible programs that prove successful.

Concession Arrangements

You are aware of the question which has arisen between Liberia Mining Company (LMC), partially owned by Republic Steel, and the GOL over the Bie Mountain concession area. Steve Tolbert appeared to be the instigator on that matter, which now seems to be on the backburner. LMC now is faced with demands from Secretary Tolbert to alter retroactively preferential prices to Republic Steel, certain accounting procedures, and a management fee arrangement. LMC President Charles Dewey called on Ambassador Westerfield recently and said despite these problems he was sure LMC and GOL could work things out. He felt the company was a long way from seeking legal or diplomatic remedies. Our policy on concessions remains "hands-off" and the situation does not seem to warrant your raising this issue at this time. If Tolbert does, however, and you can work it into your conversation, you might wish to mention that Liberia remains an attractive location for investment, the more so in light of developments elsewhere in the world. In this context developments affecting U.S. investment are being closely watched in Congress.

FMS Program

Should Secretary Tolbert inquire as to the status of the $1.8 million FMS the GOL has requested, you could say we are actively considering the request and we should have a response shortly. The delay has been due to Congressional appropriations which are far below the amount requested by the Administration. This has necessitated negotiating the reprogramming of available funds, which is now in process.

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS PROJECT

DOCUMENT CONTROL RECORD

ITEM REMOVED FROM THIS FILE FOLDER

A RESTRICTED DOCUMENT OR CASE FILE HAS BEEN REMOVED FROM THIS FILE FOLDER. FOR A DESCRIPTION OF THE ITEM REMOVED AND THE REASON FOR ITS REMOVAL, CONSULT DOCUMENT ENTRY NUMBER 7A ON EITHER THE DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD (GSA FORM 7279 OR NA FORM 1421) OR NARA WITHDRAWAL SHEET (GSA FORM 7122) LOCATED IN THE FRONT OF THIS FILE FOLDER.

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PRO. .LE

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DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

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TO: PRES ____ KISSINGER X ____ HAIG ____

FROM: ELIOT X ____ ROGERS, W ____ LAIRD, M ____

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NO FORN ____ BUO ____ EYES ONLY ____ CODE WORD ____ SENSITIVE ____

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SUBJECT: Copies of Rogers & Nixon Talking Points for Lunch on his Meeting w/ Talbott.

REFERENCE: S/S 7206066 OTHER ____ NOT XEROXED ____

APP'TS: PRES ____ HAK ____ TALKER ____ MEMCON ____ DATE REQ. ____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

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ACTION REQUIRED

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ANY ACTION NECESSARY ( )
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DUE DATE:

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
	M/R			Recd 11 AM, 1 Apr. delivered to Counsellor Finch, 11:30 1 Apr.	

DISPOSITION

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SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: ____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES ____ NO ____

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☆ GPO: 1972-455-927

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (00538)

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION

January 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: HENRY A. KISSINGER

FROM: MARSHALL WRIGHT

SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's Visit to West Africa

The attached memorandum (at Tab 1) from Secretary Rogers informs the President that Mrs. Nixon's African trip was a success and your memo to the President (at Tab A) seconds the Secretary's words.

We have already reported amply on Mrs. Nixon's trip and on the Ghanaian coup in the Daily Brief, which is why your memo to the President does not repeat these subjects. State is assessing the Ghanaian coup, which will be the subject of a separate memorandum.

RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the memo at Tab A to the President.

OBE

HK

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

(00538)

CONFIDENTIAL

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's Visit to West Africa

Secretary Rogers has sent you the memorandum at Tab 1 praising Mrs. Nixon's African trip and its beneficial effect on our relations with Liberia, Ghana and the Ivory Coast. I warmly second the Secretary's words.

CONFIDENTIAL

7200504
NSC 538

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

January 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Mrs. Nixon's Visit to West Africa

Mrs. Nixon's January 2-9 visit to Liberia, Ghana and Ivory Coast was highly successful in terms of our relations with those West African states. Widely and favorably covered in both the American and African mass media, her presence in these countries was a persuasive demonstration of our friendship with them in particular and with Africa in general.

She conveyed both a very genuine warmth and personal interest in the peoples of the countries she visited and conveyed at the same time, most effectively, your own interest in Africa. Your words regarding Africa at the airport upon her return will further demonstrate this interest.

In her discussions with the Presidents of Liberia and Ivory Coast and with the Prime Minister of Ghana Mrs. Nixon was able to allay any fears that may have arisen over your forthcoming trip to Peking and Moscow. President Tolbert was pleased by the acknowledgement of the special U.S.-Liberian relationship now existing between the two chiefs of state and their wives as well as between the two countries. The Ghanaians and Ivorians, officials and public alike, took great national pride from the fact Mrs. Nixon chose to visit their countries.

CONFIDENTIAL

I am convinced that our relations with each of these three friendly peoples were strengthened by Mrs. Nixon's visit. This is important not only in terms of the considerable economic, commercial, and political relationships we have with Liberia, Ghana, and Ivory Coast but also in terms of their real and potential influence in African bilateral and regional contexts with other African states. In the case of Ghana, currently experiencing a political conflict that threatens its democratic institutions, Mrs. Nixon's visit will continue to serve as a sincere display to the Ghanaian people of the friendship of the American people.

William P. Rogers

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

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1	17	1	18	09	00538	

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES X
KISSINGER
HAIG

FROM: ELIOT
ROGERS, W X
LAIRD, M

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SUBJECT: Summary of Mrs. Nixon's Visit to West Africa

REFERENCE: S/S #7200504 OTHER NOT XEROXED

APP'TS: PRES HAK TALKER MEMCON DATE REQ.

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	X		X
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PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ( )
MEMO FOR PRES. (X)
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COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

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DISPOSITION

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SEE LOG DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO

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SPECIAL FILE RQMT: SA, HP, HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS:

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES NO

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Ted Haig

CONFIDENTIAL

NSC-35289

January 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Invitation to Liberian President Tolbert

Further to my memo of January 11, there will be no invitation to President Tolbert to meet with the President.

Rgd JWD

Jeanne W. Davis
Staff Secretary

cc: Gen. Haig, Col. Kennedy, Mr. Wright, Coleman Hicks, Gen. Hughes, Mr. Butterfield, Mrs. Winchester, Miss Woods, Mr. Farrell

→ Haig

NSC-35289

VIA LDX

CONFIDENTIAL

January 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Invitation to Liberian President Tolbert to Visit Washington

To confirm our telephone notification, you should take no action with regard to an invitation to President Tolbert to meet with the President on February 1.

Jeanne W. Davis
Staff Secretary

cc: M. Wright
Gen. Haig
[redacted]
Coleman Herbe

'72 JAN 8 PM 9:09
WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

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UNCLAS

TO ME PRICE

FROM MR BULL

SUGGESTED REMARKS FOR WELCOME HOME OF MRS NIXON

I HAVE ASKED THE CHIEF OF PROTOCOL, AMBASSADOR MOSBACHER, WHAT IS THE APPROPRIATE GREETING ON THIS OCCASION-- "MRS NIXON", OR MADAME AMBASSADOR. WE DO NOT HAVE AN ANSWERE YET.

WE HAVE, OF COURSE, FOLLOWED THE FIRST LADY'S PROGRESS IN WEST AFRICA WITH VERY KEEN INTEREST--THESE AFRICAN DEMOCRACIES ARE VERY CLOSELY LINKED TO US IN A COMMON REGARD FOR THE FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLES, AND OF ALL PEOPLE. WE ARE LINKED IN OUR HOPES FOR THE FUTURE--AND OF COURSE, IN THE CASE OF LIBERIA, BY THE HISTORY WHICH WE HAVE SHARED. LIBERIA IIS THE OLDEST DEMOCRACY ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT AND WE ARE THE OLDEST DEMOCRACY ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

FOR THESE REASONS, I FELT IT FITTING THAT THIS NATION BE REPRESENTED IN WEST AFRICA BY THE PERSON WHOSE DIPLOMATIC SKILL, WHOSE PERSONAL GRACE, AND WHOSE OWN GOOD WILL WERE BEST KNOWN TO ME. SO I SENT MY WIFE...AND I THINK I MADE THE RIGHT CHOICE.

ANTHROPOLOGISTS TODAY BELIEVE THAT AFRICA WAS THE CRADLE OF HUMANITY--THAT MAN BEGAN HIS PROCESS OF EVOLUTIONARY GROWTH IN THE HEAT OF AFRICA. I AM NOT A STUDENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY, BUT I AM A STUDENT OF HISTORY, AND I HAVE TALKED TO MUCH OF THE LEADERSHIP OF AFRICA. I KNOW THAT HOWEVER MUCH OF ITS PAST THE AFRICAN CONTINENT GAVE TO PHYSICAL MAN, IT HAS MUCH TO GIVE OF ITS FUTURE TO POLITICAL MAN. AFRICA IS A RICH LAND--INCREDIBLY RICH, WITH SO FEW OF ITS RESOURCES TAPPED. IT IS A DEVERSE LAND--IN ITS PEOPLE, IN ITS CUSTOMS, IN ITS CULTURE. IT IS IN SOME RESPECTS A TROUBLED CONTINENT. BUT IT IS IN ALL RESPECTS A PLACE OF GREAT HOPE. IT HAS A MOJOR ROLE TO PLAY IN THE EVOLUTION OF A PROSPEROUS WORLD AT PEACE WITH ITSELF. AND I THINK AMERICA CAN AND MUST HELP AFRICA TO PLAY ITS ROLE. CERTAINLY, THE ON-GOING AMERICAN EXPERIENCE PARALLELS THAT OF AFRICA -- WE ARE RICH, WE ARE DIVERSE, WE HAVE DIFFICULTIES IN OUR DIVERSITY, BUT WE ARE A GREAT PEOPLE, AND AS GREAT AS OUR PAST HAS BEEN, WE KNOW THAT OUR FUTURE WILL BE EVEN GREATER.

SO WE SHAREE THESE THINGS WITH AFRICA. WE HAVE MUTUAL OPPORTUNITIES. TIME WILL BRING MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS. WE MUST BE PREPARED FOR BOTH. NOW I WNAT TO TAKE MRES MRS. NIXON HOME FOR A FULL REPORT ON THE PAST WEEK.

NNNN

600/49/8ELO

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Ed
pls add the
attached to the
package got
here now - -
note 36222 + 36223
are all of 1.
Tom

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

(36223)

CONFIDENTIAL

December 30, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR COLONEL KENNEDY

FROM: Fred Rondon FR

SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's African Trip

A revised memorandum from Dr. Kissinger to Mrs. Nixon reflecting the President's inability to commit his schedule at this time to meet President Tolbert in February or President Houphouet-Boigny at a later date is attached.

John Holdridge, Art Downey and Bob Hormats concur with the talking points on Peking, Moscow and economic assistance.

The signed Presidential letters for Mrs. Nixon to deliver to her hosts are attached at Tab 1.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

(36223)

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CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

(36223)

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MRS. NIXON

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT: Your African Trip

Attached are signed Presidential letters for your hosts (at Tab 1) and the briefing books prepared by the Department of State for your trip to Liberia, Ghana, and the Ivory Coast. They are useful, but are in some respects more diffused and detailed than you require. The purpose of this memo is to provide you in the briefest possible form with the essential guidance you need to handle the substantive aspects of your conversations with your hosts.

We think it important that there be a genuine substantive content in your conversation with President Tolbert, Prime Minister Busia, and President Houphouet-Boigny. It will give a flattering additional dimension to the significance which the host country will attach, in any event, to your visit. It will also greatly facilitate the care and feeding of the press covering the trip, and will ensure both better and wider coverage of your activities. We have, therefore, put together a substantive package for you which will be of genuine interest to your hosts, but which will not involve you in detailed substantive discussions of the type which I understand you wish to avoid.

All three of your hosts will be deeply interested in President Nixon's expectations in regard to the Peking trip, the Moscow trip, and the future of American economic assistance. We are therefore suggesting that in your meeting with each of them you raise these topics along the lines of the talking points attached at Tab 2.

Prime Minister Busia of Ghana will also be anxious to learn if we have been able to help him in connection with Ghana's foreign debt. He asked the President's assistance when they met in November. You will be able to inform him of our efforts as also covered in Tab 2.

Finally, both Presidents Tolbert and Houphouet-Boigny may mention their desire to meet President Nixon. Tolbert, in fact, may be coming to Washington to attend the February 1 Presidential Prayer Breakfast. I raised this problem with the President who decided that he could not commit his schedule at this time to receive Tolbert for an office call in February or Houphouet at a later date. The Department of State did not know this when they prepared their talking points. Consequently, I recommend that you use the language in Tab 2 to explain why the President cannot promise to receive either Tolbert of Houphouet for now.

There is no reason for you to prepare yourself on any substantive problems other than these. Your hosts may raise additional problems, but they will not expect an immediate substantive reply from you. Your response, therefore, can be limited simply to an assurance that you are delighted to have had this chance to hear their views, which you will convey fully to your husband on your return to Washington.

In addition to the Talking Points at Tab 2, we have attached some brief comments on the individual countries you will be visiting (Tab 3) and the current African problems on which your hosts might wish to express themselves (Tab 4).

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 1, 1972

Dear Mr. President:

Especially because of our long friendship dating from the time we both served as Vice Presidents of our countries, I wish that I could have attended your inauguration in person. But I am particularly happy that Mrs. Nixon can be there to represent me as well as the United States Government. Her presence will underline two facts, the close relationship between the United States and Liberia which goes back 150 years and the close personal relationship between the Tolbert family and the Nixon family. I shall always remember that luncheon at your home in 1967 when I was privileged to meet not only some of the top officials of the Liberian Government but also the members of your family.

I am also greatly pleased that Dr. Billy Graham, who means so much to both of us personally, will be representing the United States. It is very fitting that Dr. Graham be present at the inauguration of one whose former leadership of the Baptist World Alliance meant so much to Baptists everywhere.

I trust that this historic occasion will inaugurate a new era of increased cooperation between our two countries which have been such close friends.

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

His Excellency
William R. Tolbert, Jr.
President of the Republic of Liberia

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 1, 1972

Dear Mr. President:

I am pleased and honored that Mrs. Nixon is visiting your country. Having in mind the warm and pleasant memories of my own visit to Accra in 1957, my only regret is that I cannot accompany her and have the pleasure of meeting you.

Americans have had a long and continuing interest in Ghana and her people. We have watched with great pleasure the reestablishment of democratic civilian rule in Ghana and the strengthening of the friendly ties between our Governments. Your own role in that process is well known and highly honored.

Given the breadth and depth of America's relations with Ghana -- economic and cultural as well as political -- I know the traditional Ghanaian hospitality which will be extended to Mrs. Nixon will have an even deeper meaning and will further strengthen the links between our countries.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

The Honorable
Edward Akufo-Addo
President of the Republic of Ghana

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 1, 1972

Dear Mr. President:

It was very kind of you to invite Mrs. Nixon to visit the Republic of Ivory Coast. I recall with fondness my own brief visit to your beautiful capital in 1967 and the great courtesy with which I was received at that time.

Mrs. Nixon has looked forward eagerly to her visit. She shares with me a deep personal interest in Africa as well as a keen appreciation for the leadership you have provided to your people, for your country's remarkable economic development, and for the close ties that exist between the Ivory Coast and the United States. I know that she will be received with the traditional hospitality for which Ivorians are renowned.

I wish that I was able to accompany Mrs. Nixon, to meet you and to renew my acquaintance with your country. However, as you will appreciate, a great deal of my time is now being spent in preparation for my visits to the Peoples Republic of China and to the Soviet Union. Knowing of your interest in these journeys, I have asked Mrs. Nixon to discuss with you some of my thoughts concerning their purposes. And, of course, I have also asked her to convey to you my warmest personal regards and those of the American people.

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

His Excellency
Felix Houphouet-Boigny
President of the Republic of Ivory Coast

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 1, 1972

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I wish to express again my deep appreciation for your kind invitation to Mrs. Nixon to visit Ghana. Her visit recalls to me very pleasant memories of our talks during your visit to Washington last November. I only regret I was unable to accompany Mrs. Nixon on this journey so that I could renew both our personal friendship and my acquaintance with your country -- an acquaintance that stems from our attendance at Ghana's independence ceremonies in 1957.

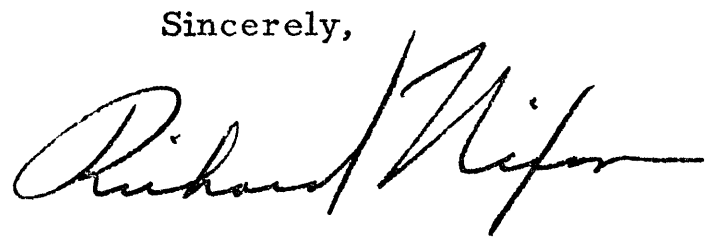
As you will appreciate, a great deal of my time is being spent in preparation for my visits to the Peoples Republic of China and to the Soviet Union. Knowing of your interest in these journeys, I have asked Mrs. Nixon to discuss with you some of my thoughts concerning their purposes.

Mrs. Nixon has looked forward eagerly to seeing Ghana again. She shares with me a deep personal interest in Africa, an appreciation for the example to Africa of your democratic institutions, for your personal contribution to Ghana's development, and for the particularly close ties that exist between Ghana and the United States.

On this first official visit to Africa by an American President's wife, I am pleased that Mrs. Nixon will be received with the traditional hospitality for which

Ghanaians are renowned. I have asked her to convey to you my warmest personal regards and those of the American people.

Sincerely,



The Honorable
Kofi A. Busia
Prime Minister of the
Republic of Ghana

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 30, 1971

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Mrs. Nixon's Visit to Africa

Attached are three copies of the briefing book prepared for Mrs. Nixon's trip to West Africa, January 1-9, 1972. By prior arrangement, briefing books for Mrs. Nixon and Mrs. Stuart are being delivered directly by Mr. William Codus, S/CPR.

for Robert H. Miller
Acting Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Briefing Books for NSC (2)
2. Briefing Book for White House Press Office

Delivered
2 - London
1 - Paris
12/31

UNCLASSIFIED
with SECRET ATTACHMENTS

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	OG NBR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
12	30	1	3	9	00005	

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES ____ KISSINGER ____ HAIG ____

FROM: ELIOT ____ ROGERS, W ____ LAIRD, M ____

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SUBJECT: Cys of Briefing Books for Pres Nixon's Trip to W. Africa

REFERENCE: S/S ____ OTHER ____ NOT XEROXED ____

APP'TS: PRES ____ HAK ____ TALKER ____ MEMCON ____ DATE REQ. ____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG	■		
STAFF SECRETARY			
FAR EAST			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA			
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA			
EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ( )
MEMO FOR PRES. ( )
REPLY FOR ____ SIGNATURE ( )
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ( )
MEMO ____ TO ____ ( )
RECOMMENDATIONS ( )
JOINT MEMO ( )
REFER TO STATE ( )
ANY ACTION NECESSARY ( )
CONCURRENCE ( )
DUE DATE:

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

Log in + out

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
				Books delivered	
				2 - London	
				1 - Jordan	
				12/31	
HD					

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH ____ NOTIFY ____ DATE ____

SEE LOG ____ DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO ____

JOINED BY LOG ____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) ____

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: ____ SA, ____ HP, ____ HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: ____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES ____ NO ____

MICROFILM DATA
DO ____ INIT ____ DATE ____
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TO) PAF ____ WHC ____ SUBF ____

★ GPO: 1971—412-412

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

REVISED

(36223)

CONFIDENTIAL

December 30, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR COLONEL KENNEDY

FROM: Fred Rondon

SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's African Trip

A revised memorandum from Dr. Kissinger to Mrs. Nixon reflecting the President's inability to commit his schedule at this time to meet President Tolbert in February or President Houphouet-Boigny at a later date is attached.

John Holdridge, Art Downey and Bob Hormats concur with the talking points on Peking, Moscow and economic assistance.

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CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE (36223)

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL December 30, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MRS. NIXON

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER HK

SUBJECT: Your African Trip

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We think it important that there be a genuine substantive content in your conversation with President Tolbert, Prime Minister Busia, and President Houphouet-Boigny. It will give a flattering additional dimension to the significance which the host country will attach, in any event, to your visit. It will also greatly facilitate the care and feeding of the press covering the trip, and will ensure both better and wider coverage of your activities. We have, therefore, put together a substantive package for you which will be of genuine interest to your hosts, but which will not involve you in detailed substantive discussions of the type which I understand you wish to avoid.

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CONFIDENTIAL

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 1, 1972

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Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

His Excellency
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President of the Republic of Liberia

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WASHINGTON

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With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

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President of the Republic of Ghana

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Mrs. Nixon has looked forward eagerly to her visit. She shares with me a deep personal interest in Africa as well as a keen appreciation for the leadership you have provided to your people, for your country's remarkable economic development, and for the close ties that exist between the Ivory Coast and the United States. I know that she will be received with the traditional hospitality for which Ivorians are renowned.

I wish that I was able to accompany Mrs. Nixon, to meet you and to renew my acquaintance with your country. However, as you will appreciate, a great deal of my time is now being spent in preparation for my visits to the Peoples Republic of China and to the Soviet Union. Knowing of your interest in these journeys, I have asked Mrs. Nixon to discuss with you some of my thoughts concerning their purposes. And, of course, I have also asked her to convey to you my warmest personal regards and those of the American people.

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President of the Republic of Ivory Coast

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January 1, 1972

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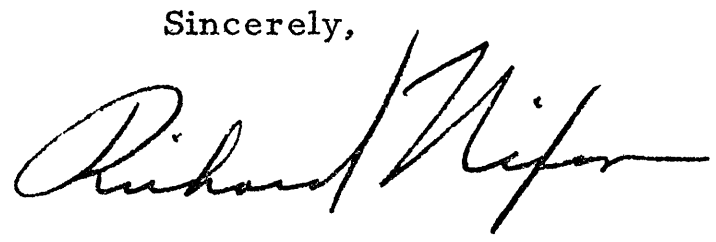

The Honorable
Kofi A. Busia
Prime Minister of the
Republic of Ghana

2

CONFIDENTIAL

Talking Points

for the Meeting with President Tolbert,

Prime Minister Busia, and President

Houphouet-Boigny

1. President Nixon asked me to express his deep regret that he could not join me on this trip. As you know, he is deeply interested in Africa, and would particularly have enjoyed visiting your beautiful country again. He asked me to begin our conversation by giving you this letter from him. [At this point hand over the letter and indicate that it should be read now.]

2. My husband asked me to convey to you his thoughts on three subjects on which he was certain you would be deeply interested, the trip to Peking, the trip to Moscow, and the future of the U.S. economic assistance program.

3. The Peking Trip. My husband wanted me to explain to you what led him to take this initiative and what he hopes will come from it. My husband has been concerned for many years that if things continued as they were, the Peoples Republic of China at century's end would be a nuclear power with a population of one billion people, still completely outside the international structure of peace and order. Such a situation would constitute an intolerable threat to world peace. My husband felt that the effort must be made to establish a better understanding and a more helpful relationship between the United States and the Peoples Republic of China.

He wants you to know that he has no illusions about the seriousness of the differences that divide the Government in Peking and the United States. He knows that the difficulties between Washington and Peking are real and deep, and will not be easily resolved. But he feels that a beginning must be made.

He does not expect that the Peking trip will lead to normal diplomatic relations with the Peoples Republic of China. The purpose of the trip is, simply, to reduce tensions. The President believes that purpose will be served by beginning the process of communication with Peking and establishing a means by which we can understand each others' interests better, even if we cannot agree on the solution to our differences.

CONFIDENTIAL

My husband has no intention of reaching any agreements at the expense of other countries. The U.S. recognizes its moral obligation to protect the interests of its friends. Nothing that happens in Peking will undercut that obligation. My husband is, in fact, convinced that the interests of all nations will be served by a reduction of tensions between ourselves and the Peoples Republic of China, and that is the purpose of the Peking trip.

4. The Moscow Trip. My husband sees the visit to Moscow quite differently than the visit to Peking. The task in Moscow is not to start communication. We have had communication with the Soviet Union for a long time, and we certainly have a greater understanding of each other's positions. With Moscow, the task is to attempt to increase the prospects for progress on concrete issues.

President Nixon has made a great effort during the three years of his Administration to establish an atmosphere in our relations with the Soviet Union which would lead to progress. There has been some progress. We have had, for example, the Berlin Agreement and talks on limiting strategic arms.

It is because there has been progress in our relationship with the Soviet Union that the President is willing to visit Moscow. It is possible that the Moscow visit will lead to some additional progress between the Soviet Union and the United States in such areas as economic relations and arms control.

5. The future of our economic assistance program. My husband knows of Africa's deep concern with the treatment that the American aid program has received from Congress last month. He asked me to tell you that he understands fully what economic assistance means to our friends. He wants you to know that he is committed to a continuation of the economic assistance program. Although we may be in for a period in which U.S. aid resources will be more severely limited than in the past, my husband is confident that the United States will continue to play a major role in giving economic assistance to friendly developing countries. He wants you to know that Congressional passage of an acceptable aid program will have the highest priority for his Administration this year.

6. Other Issues that may be raised. There are a number of rather complicated African issues that one or another of your hosts might raise with you. They include such matters as the British attempt to reach an agreement leading to the independence of Rhodesia, the impact on Africa of the U. S. relationship with Portugal, American policy toward South Africa, etc.

If your hosts raise these issues, they will not expect an immediate substantive response from you. I suggest that to any such issue you respond by saying that you are delighted to have had this opportunity to hear their views, which you will fully convey to President Nixon when you return to Washington.

7. Individual Points to Be Made

For the meeting with President Tolbert of Liberia. He may inform you that he has been invited to attend the Presidential Prayer Breakfast in Washington on February 1 (Senator Jordan of North Carolina invited Tolbert). He may tell you that he certainly hopes that the President will be able to see him if he comes.

- Suggested Response. My husband knows that you have been invited and he, too, hopes to be able to attend the breakfast. Unfortunately, his schedule is overwhelming at present, and he is not able to make any firm commitments now. I know that he is most anxious to renew his friendship with you. I will certainly let the President know that you want to see him and I am sure that he will try to arrange for a mutually convenient meeting just as soon as he can.

For the meeting with Prime Minister Busia of Ghana. My husband asked me to assure you that we are following up on your request for help with your debt problem. We are urging the British to call the creditors meeting as quickly as possible, and we are working on an initiative that we might take at the creditors meeting that would be helpful to you. Ambassador Hadsel will be in touch with you on this as soon as the details have been worked out.

For the meeting with President Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast. My husband views with great admiration the success that you have had in building a strong economy in the Ivory Coast. He has hoped for some time

that you and Madame Houphouet-Boigny would be able to visit Washington. Unfortunately, the preparation for the visits to Peking and Moscow and the fact that this is an election year in the United States make it difficult to try to schedule this year the kind of official visit that would be appropriate to underline the friendship between the United States and the Ivory Coast. My husband asked me to tell you, however, that he very much wants to have the honor and pleasure of meeting you and hopes that he will be able to do so at a mutually convenient time in the future.

LIBERIA

Liberia is by far the oldest and best friend we have in Africa. Our relationship goes back to 1816 when the country was settled by freed American slaves under a charter from our Congress. Today, Liberia is the site of a major U.S. communications center and the recipient of $375 million in private investment, mainly rubber and iron ore. A confidential agreement gives us access to Liberia's modern harbor and to its airfield in time of crises, during which time we might also be interested in the use of Liberia's merchant fleet, the world's largest. We have 4,500 American citizens living in Liberia.

President Tolbert assumed power on July 23 upon the death of William Tubman who ruled Liberia firmly and very personally for over 27 years. Bob Finch was the President's representative at Tubman's funeral.

Tolbert is extremely pro-American, and he has assiduously tried to cultivate his personal ties with President Nixon. The two Presidents have exchanged warm letters over the past months.

Unsurprisingly, Liberia looks to the United States as a parent nation, much as Ghana looks to Britain and the Ivory Coast looks to France. Liberia takes it for granted that she, more than any other African country, has a right to our aid and support. Your visit will show that President Nixon attaches great value to our historic ties and friendship with Liberia. Privately, you will be able to emphasize these ties but in speaking with Tolbert on the problems our assistance program is facing in the Congress, you should lead him to understand the increasingly severe limits on our economic assistance resources.

GHANA

Ghana was the first European colony in Africa to get independence after World War II. Its experience with independence has not been smooth, and the country now faces something of a crisis of confidence.

Prime Minister Busia of Ghana is trying to make his moderate democratic government accepted as the successor of Kwame Nkrumah's colorful but disastrous dictatorship. Nkrumah, who was overthrown in 1966, left his country burdened with a huge foreign debt. Rather than renege on his inherited debt, Busia has adopted austerity budgets for two years in a row. This has earned him the respect of international bankers, but cost him popularity in Ghana, thus endangering support for his responsible democratic government.

We want to show Busia and Ghana that we care about his government and want to help him in resolving his problems. Ghana knows that we are trying to help. Since Nkrumah's overthrow we have become their largest aid donor. One sixth of our total assistance to Africa is already going to Ghana and we soon hope to increase that aid.

Our interests in Ghana are not simply political. American private enterprise has invested $188 million there and prospects for future trade and investment make our economic relations with Ghana among the most important we have in Africa.

With a far more educated population than most African states, Ghana has real promise of becoming a moderate, prospering example for other African states to follow.

IVORY COAST

The Ivory Coast is Africa's most striking success story. It is strictly a private-enterprise economy, and is uniquely hospitable to foreign investment, mostly French.

President Houphouet-Boigny is one of Africa's most distinguished, most successful, and most pro-Western statesmen. But Houphouet is by no means satisfied with these laurels. He has now undertaken to persuade Black Africa that its approach to southern African problems is mistaken in its emphasis on violence and that greater efforts to alleviate the problems of racism must be made by engaging in dialogue with South Africa.

Houphouet's patrons are first and foremost the French. He is, in fact, a highly cultivated and educated product of French civilization. But our relations with him have also been consistently warm. He has not met President Nixon and is most anxious to do so. Your visit will offer us a unique opportunity to tell Houphouet and the Ivorians that we admire their success and enable you to tell him that President Nixon very much hopes to meet him at some future date.

Abidjan, the Ivory Coast capital, is the show place of Africa, modern and booming. Our own economic stake in the Ivory Coast is small, only $30 million in private investment, although there is a possibility that American capital may invest over $200 million in an iron ore project. Houphouet is very interested in American private investment, but the Ivory Coast is, generally speaking, a French preserve, both culturally and economically.

African Issues

1. Diggs Accuses Administration. On December 18 Black Representative Charles Diggs of Michigan resigned from our United Nations delegation over policy differences with the Nixon Administration. He accused us of "stifling hypocrisy" in our African policy because of our refusal to accept certain hard line resolutions against South Africa and because of the signing of the Azores Accords with Portugal. Diggs felt that the latter would strengthen Portugal's determination to hold onto its African colonies.

As Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus (all Democrats) and of the House Subcommittee on Africa, Diggs is well known to Africans. Some Africans probably share his views but your visit will serve as a clear reminder to most that the President is sincerely interested in Africa's concerns and friendship. I doubt very much that anyone will raise Diggs with you but you should be aware of what they are talking about if they do.

2. Administration Interest in Africa. American assistance to Africa, including over $300 million in direct bilateral aid given in the form of development loans, food, technical assistance, and export financing, and over $200 million which Africa receives through our contributions to international agencies such as the World Bank and UN Development Program, runs over $500 million a year. This is ample proof that we are doing a great deal to help Africa. Furthermore, President Nixon has probably met with more African leaders than any other President. This year alone he met with the leaders of Morocco, Senegal, Mauritania, Ghana and Dahomey. Secretary Rogers is the first American Secretary of State to visit Africa, the Vice-President and several cabinet officers have also travelled there, and now you are the first First Lady to officially visit Africa. There should be no doubt that President Nixon knows and cares about Africa.

3. The Azores Accords. Off the coast of Northwestern Africa, the Azores are an essential military base helping us to fulfill our responsibilities in the North Atlantic, Europe and the Middle East. December's renewal of our agreement with Portugal for the use of the Azores in no way affects our desire to see self-determination brought about for Portugal's territories of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique. As a result of the accords, we have agreed to give Portugal economic assistance. This consists almost entirely of export financing for development projects.

in mainland Portugal. If anything, it might help to modernize Portugal's economy and speed up Portugal's integration into Europe. This would presumably result in a loosening of Portugal's 500 year old ties with her African territories.

Portugal's membership in NATO is strictly for European defense. We embargo the sale of U.S. military equipment to Portugal for use in Africa.

4. Portugal and Senegal. Ghana has told us that they were disappointed that we abstained on a UN resolution condemning Portuguese "aggression" against Senegal. We, in fact, deplored the violation of Senegal's frontiers but abstained because the UN condemned Portugal without investigating Portuguese allegations that Portuguese Guinea terrorists operating in Senegal had caused the violation.

5. Rhodesia. In November, the British announced a tentative settlement with Rhodesia's leaders which may end the six year old Rhodesian rebellion. Many Africans have accused the UK of selling out the African majority. The settlement for all its faults however, offers some chance that peaceful, constitutional change may come about in Rhodesia resulting in eventual, if distant, majority rule. For the moment, the British are testing the acceptability of the agreement to Rhodesia's blacks (95% of the population) as well as whites. We do not believe that we should prejudge the agreement particularly if most Rhodesians decide it is better than the present impasse, which was gradually leading to a Rhodesia similar to white supremacist South Africa. Our position is to withhold comment on the settlement pending the UK's efforts to consult a representative sample of Rhodesian opinion.

6. Dialogue and South Africa. President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast (and to a lesser extent Prime Minister Busia of Ghana) have questioned Africa's increasing tendency to eschew all efforts to reach a peaceful settlement with South Africa. Militant nationalists such as Nyerere of Tanzania and Kaunda of Zambia would argue that Pretoria is not interested in change as evidenced by its use of force to maintain its rule. These militants see no alternative to violence. Houphouet would counter that it is unrealistic to expect change if Black Africa is unwilling to make a much stronger effort to enter into some sort of constructive dialogue with South Africa, and that Black Africa does not have the power to force change on South Africa through violence. Houphouet may be over-optimistic in thinking South Africa can be persuaded to change, but he is worried that a violent approach opens Africa to communist penetration, has no chance of

military success, and can only deflect Africa from its desperate economic priorities. Houphouet believes that the USSR and PRC rather than Africa would gain if violence was chosen as the only method for dealing with South Africa.

We are clearly in favor of Houphouet's approach. However, public support from us would hurt -- not help, for Houphouet's moderate strategy must be viewed as an African initiative if it is to gain widespread support from other African countries.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

(36223)

CONFIDENTIAL

December 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: COLONEL KENNEDY

FROM: for MARSHALL WRIGHT HAK

SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's African Trip

While at Key Biscayne, I will try to get Henry's approval of memos from him to the President and to Mrs. Nixon. If he approves, I will telephone from Florida so that the original copy of Mrs. Nixon's memo (attached) can be signed for HAK and given to her urgently.

We will be able to give the President his memo in Florida.

John Holdridge and Art Downey concur with the talking points on Moscow and Peking.

CONFIDENTIAL

36222

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's African Trip

Attached are copies of the letters which have been provided to Mrs. Nixon. Also attached are the Talking Points for her meetings with Presidents Tolbert and Houphouet-Boigny, and Prime Minister Busia.

You will note that the Talking Points involve two commitments on visits. Without consulting us, Senator Jordan invited President Tolbert to Washington for the Presidential Prayer Breakfast in February. Tolbert will certainly expect to call upon you while he is here. We are therefore suggesting that Mrs. Nixon make of necessity a virtue by extending on your behalf an invitation for an office call if Tolbert does come for the Prayer Breakfast.

Houphouet has for several years wanted an invitation for an official visit to Washington. As one of Africa's most senior, distinguished, and successful leaders, he thoroughly merits an invitation, and probably expects it as a result of Mrs. Nixon's visit. We are therefore asking Mrs. Nixon to extend an invitation for a visit in 1973. (Publicly, we will say the timing of the visit will be worked out at a later date.)

These two invitations will considerably add to the public impact of the visit, and will please Mrs. Nixon's hosts more than anything else that could be done.

The Talking Points we are furnishing Mrs. Nixon are designed to give a genuine substantive impact to her visit without involving her in the complexities which I understand she wishes to avoid. We are therefore suggesting that with each of her hosts she convey your thoughts on the Peking visit, the Moscow visit, and the future of the U.S. economic

assistance program. In Liberia and the Ivory Coast, the invitations to visit Washington will add the necessary bilateral note -- and we are doing the same in Ghana by having Mrs. Nixon assure Prime Minister Busia that we are following up on his request to you last month for help with his debt problem. Conversations along those lines will provide a solid basis for press briefings which stress the substantive nature of Mrs. Nixon's trip.

Attachments
Tab A - Letters to President Tolbert of Liberia
President Akufo-Addo of Ghana
Prime Minister Busia of Ghana
President Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast
Tab B - Talking Points

The Following Pages Are The Best Available

Talking Points

for the Meetings with President Tolbert,

Prime Minister Busia, and President

Houphouet-Boigny

1. President Nixon asked me to express his deep regret that he could not join me on this trip. As you know, he is deeply interested in Africa, and would particularly have enjoyed visiting your beautiful country again. He asked me to begin our conversation by giving you this letter from him. [At this point hand over the letter and indicate that it should be read now.]

2. My husband asked me to convey to you his thoughts on three subjects on which he was certain you would be deeply interested, the trip to Peking, the trip to Moscow, and the future of the U.S. economic-assistance program.

3. The trip to Peking. My husband wanted me to explain to you what led him to take this initiative and what he hopes will come from it. My husband has been concerned for many years that if things continued as they were, the Peoples Republic of China at century's end would be a nuclear power with a population of one billion people, still completely outside the international structure of peace and order. Such a situation would constitute an intolerable threat to world peace. My husband felt that the effort must be made to establish a better understanding and a more helpful relationship between the United States and the Peoples Republic of China.

He wants you to know that he has no illusions about the seriousness of the differences that divide the Government in Peking and the United States. He also has no illusions about the nature of the communist regime in China and about the dangers which it poses to free governments such as yours and ours. He knows that the difficulties between Washington and Peking are real and deep, and have been twenty years in the making. They will not be easily resolved. But he feels that a beginning must be made.

He does not expect that the Peking trip will lead to normal diplomatic relations with Communist China. The purpose of the trip is, simply, to reduce tensions. The President believes that purpose will be served by beginning the process of communication with Peking and establishing a means by which we can understand each others' interests better, even if we cannot agree on the solution to our differences.

My husband has no intention of reaching any agreements at the expense of other countries. The U.S. recognizes its moral obligation to protect the interests of its friends. Nothing that happens in Peking will undercut that obligation. My husband is, in fact, convinced that the interests of all nations will be served by a reduction of tensions between ourselves and Communist China, and that is the purpose of the Peking trip.

4. The Moscow Trip. My husband sees the visit to Moscow quite differently than the visit to Peking. The task in Moscow is not to start communication. We have had communication with the Soviet Union for a long time, and we understand each other very well. With Moscow, the task is to make concrete progress on the issues which divide us.

President Nixon has made a great effort during the three years of his Administration to establish an atmosphere in our relations with the Soviet Union which would lead to progress. What is needed is mutual restraint, a willingness to recognize each others' legitimate interests, and the willingness to make reasonable accommodations in the interest of preventing conflict. This is what my husband means when he calls for an era of negotiation rather than confrontation.

There has been some progress, for example, the Berlin Agreement and the talks on limiting strategic arms. It is because there has beend progress in our relationship with the Soviet Union that the President is willing to visit Moscow. It is likely that the Moscow visit will lead to additional agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States, perhaps in the area of arms control, and more normal economic relations.

5. The future of our economic assistance program. My husband knows of Africa's deep concern with the treatment that the American aid program has received from Congress last month. He asked me to tell you that he understands fully what economic assistance means to our friends. He wants you to know that he is committed to a continuation of the economic assistance program. Although we may be in for a period in which U.S. aid resources will be more severely limited than in the past, my husband is confident that the United States will continue to play a major role in giving economic assistance to friendly developing countries. He wants you to know that Congressional passage of an acceptable aid program will have the highest priority for his Administration this year.

6. Other issues that may be raised. There are a number of rather complicated African issues that one or another of your hosts might raise with you. They include such matters as the British attempt to reach an agreement leading to the independence of Rhodesia, the impact on Africa of the U.S. relationship with Portugal, American policy toward South Africa, etc.

If your hosts raise these issues, they will not expect an immediate substantive response from you. I suggest that to any such issue you respond by saying that you are delighted to have had this opportunity to hear their views, which you will fully convey to President Nixon when you return to Washington.

7. Individual Points to Be Made

For the meeting with President Tolbert of Liberia. My husband knows of the invitation which you have received to participate in the Presidential Prayer Breakfast in Washington on February 2. He asked me to extend to you an invitation to call on him at the White House if your schedule permits you to come to Washington at that time. As you know, the preparations for the trips to Peking and Moscow and the fact that this is an election year in the United States have put such a burden on our schedule that it is not possible to schedule a formal visit this year. My husband does, however, look forward to having a good talk with you and hopes that the beginning of February is a convenient time for you.

For the meeting with Prime Minister Busia of Ghana. My husband asked me to assure you that we are following up on your request for help with your debt problem. We are urging the British to call the creditors meeting as quickly as possible, and we are working on an initiative that we might take at the creditors meeting that would be helpful to you. Ambassador Hadsel will be in touch with you on this as soon as the details have been worked out.

For the meeting with President Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast. My husband views with great admiration the success that you have had in building a strong economy in the Ivory Coast. He has hoped for some time that you and Madame Houphouet-Boigny would be able to visit Washington. Unfortunately, the preparations for the visits to Moscow and Peking and the fact that this is an election year in the United States makes it difficult

to try to schedule this year the kind of official visit that would be appropriate to underline the friendship between the United States and the Ivory Coast. The President has asked me, however, to extend to you, on his behalf, an invitation to visit the United States at the earliest mutually convenient time. We would like to announce the invitation now, with the dates and other details of the visit to be worked out later.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

(36223)

CONFIDENTIAL

*will be delivered to Mrs.

MEMORANDUM FOR: MRS. NIXON

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT: Your African Trip

Attached are signed Presidential letters for your hosts (at Tab 1). ~~and~~ The briefing books prepared by the Department of State for your trip to Liberia, Ghana, and the Ivory Coast.* They ~~are~~ will be useful, but are in some respects more diffused and detailed than you require. The purpose of this memo is to provide you in the briefest possible form with the essential guidance you need to handle the substantive aspects of your conversations with your hosts.

We think it important that there be a genuine substantive content in your conversation with President Tolbert, Prime Minister Busia, and President Houphouet-Boigny. It will give a flattering additional dimension to the significance which the host country will attach, in any event, to your visit. It will also greatly facilitate the care and feeding of the press covering the trip, and will ensure both better and wider coverage of your activities. We have, therefore, put together a substantive package for you which will be of genuine interest to your hosts, but which will not involve you in detailed substantive discussions of the type which I understand you wish to avoid.

All three of your hosts will be deeply interested in President Nixon's expectations in regard to the Peking trip, the Moscow trip, and the future of American economic assistance. We are therefore suggesting that in your meeting with each of them you raise these topics along the lines of the talking points attached at Tab 2.

Prime Minister Busia of Ghana will also be anxious to learn if we have been able to help him in connection with Ghana's foreign debt. He asked the President's assistance when they met in November. You will be able to inform him of our efforts as also covered in Tab 2.

CONFIDENTIAL

Finally, both Presidents Tolbert and Houphouet-Boigny may mention their desire to meet President Nixon. Tolbert, in fact, may be coming to Washington to attend the February 1 Presidential Prayer Breakfast. I raised this problem with the President who decided that he could not commit his schedule at this time to receive Tolbert for an office call in February or Houphouet at a later date. The Department of State did not know this when they prepared their talking points. Consequently, I recommend that you use the language in Tab 2 to explain why the President cannot promise now to receive either Tolbert ~~or~~ or Houphouet ~~for now~~.

There is no reason for you to prepare yourself on any substantive problems other than these. Your hosts may raise additional problems, but they will not expect an immediate substantive reply from you. Your response, therefore, can be limited simply to an assurance that you are delighted to have had this chance to hear their views, which you will convey fully to your husband on your return to Washington.

In addition to the Talking Points at Tab 2, we have attached some brief comments on the individual countries you will be visiting (Tab 3) and the current African problems on which your hosts might wish to express themselves (Tab 4).

Page(s) missing in the original

My husband has no intention of reaching any agreements at the expense of other countries. The U.S. recognizes its moral obligation to protect the interests of its friends. Nothing that happens in Peking will undercut that obligation. My husband is, in fact, convinced that the interests of all nations will be served by a reduction of tensions between ourselves and the Peoples Republic of China, and that is the purpose of the Peking trip.

4. The Moscow Trip. My husband sees the visit to Moscow quite differently than the visit to Peking. The task in Moscow is not to start communication. We have had communication with the Soviet Union for a long time, and we certainly have a greater understanding of each others' positions. With Moscow, the task is to attempt to increase the prospects for progress on concrete issues.

President Nixon has made a great effort during the three years of his Administration to establish an atmosphere in our relations with the Soviet Union which would lead to progress. What is needed is mutual ~~restraint, a willingness to recognize each others' legitimate~~ interests ~~and this does not mean acceptance of the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine which formed the basis for the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, and the willingness to make reasonable accommodations in the interest of preventing conflict. This is what my husband means when he calls for an era of negotiation rather than confrontation.~~

There has been some progress, ~~for~~ we have had, for example, the Berlin Agreement and ~~the~~ talks on limiting strategic arms. It is because there has been progress in our relationship with the Soviet Union that the President is willing to visit Moscow. It is ~~likely~~ thought that the Moscow visit will lead to ~~additional agreements~~ some additional progress between the Soviet Union and the United States, ~~perhaps in the area of trade expansion~~ economic relations and ~~in limited~~ arms control.

5. The future of our economic assistance program. My husband knows of Africa's deep concern with the treatment that the American aid program has received from Congress last month. He asked me to tell you that he understands fully what economic assistance means to our friends. He wants you to know that he is committed to a continuation of the economic assistance program. Although we may be in for a period in which U.S. aid resources will be more severely limited than in the past, my husband is confident that the United States will continue to play a major role in giving economic assistance to friendly developing countries. He wants you to know that Congressional passage of an acceptable aid program will have the highest priority for his Administration this year.

6. Other Issues that may be raised. There are a number of rather complicated African issues that one or another of your hosts might raise with you. They include such matters as the British attempt to reach an agreement leading to the independence of Rhodesia, the impact on African of the U.S. relationship with Portugal, American policy toward South Africa, etc.

If your hosts raise these issues, they will not expect an immediate substantive response from you. I suggest that to any such issue you respond by saying that you are delighted to have had this opportunity to hear their views, which you will fully convey to President Nixon when you return to Washington.

7. Individual Points to Be Made

For the meeting with President Tolbert of Liberia. He may inform you that he has been invited to attend the Presidential Prayer Breakfast in Washington on February 1 (Senator Jordan of North Carolina invited Tolbert). He may tell you that he certainly hopes that the President will be able to see him if he comes.

- Suggested Response. My husband knows that you have been invited and he too hopes to attend the breakfast. Unfortunately, his schedule is overwhelming at present and he has not been able to commit himself to any activities other than the most urgent ones. I know that he is most anxious to renew his friendship with you. But his upcoming trips and the oncoming Presidential election make it impossible for him to commit his schedule at this time. I will certainly let the President know that you want to see him and I am sure that he will try to arrange for a mutually convenient meeting just as soon as he can.

For the meeting with Prime Minister Busia of Ghana. My husband asked me to assure you that we are following up on your request for help with your debt problem. We are urging the British to call the creditors meeting as quickly as possible, and we are working on an initiative that we might take at the creditors meeting that would be helpful to you. Ambassador Hadsel will be in touch with you on this as soon as the details have been worked out.

For the meeting with President Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast. My husband views with great admiration the success that you have had in building a strong economy in the Ivory Coast. He has hoped for some time

that you and Madame Houphouet-Boigny would be able to visit Washington. Unfortunately, the preparation for the visits to Peking and Moscow and the fact that this is an election year in the United States make it difficult to try to schedule this year the kind of official visit that would be appropriate to underline the friendship between the United States and the Ivory Coast. My husband asked me to tell you, however, that he very much wants to have the honor and pleasure of meeting you and that he deeply hopes that a mutually convenient opportunity will arise just as soon as the pressures on his present schedule ease.

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	DOC NBR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
12	28	12	28	17	36223	

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES ____ KISSINGER ____ HAIG ____ Kennedy X

FROM: ELIOT ____ ROGERS, W ____ LAIRD, M ____ WRIGHT

U ____ LOU ____ C X S ____ TS ____

LOG IN/OUT ONLY ____ NO FORN ____ BUO ____ EYES ONLY ____ CODE WORD ____ SENSITIVE ____ NODIS ____ EXDIS ____ LIMDIS ____ RES DATA ____

SUBJECT: Background material for Mrs. Nixon's Trip to Africa

REFERENCE: S/S ____ OTHER ____ NOT XEROXED ____

APP'TS: PRES ____ HAK ____ TALKER ____ MEMCON ____ DATE REQ. ____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG			
STAFF SECRETARY			
FAR EAST			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA			
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA			
EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ( )
MEMO FOR PRES. ( )
REPLY FOR ____ SIGNATURE ( )
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ( )
MEMO ____ TO ____ ( )
RECOMMENDATIONS ( )
JOINT MEMO ( )
REFER TO STATE ( )
ANY ACTION NECESSARY ( )
CONCURRENCE ( )
DUE DATE:

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
12/28	WRIGHT	HAK	X	Sgn memo to Mrs. Nixon (ASAP) / Bypass	
1/6				copy per wright	

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH ____ NOTIFY ____ DATE ____

SEE LOG ____ DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO ____

JOINED BY LOG ____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) ____

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: ____ SA, ____ HP, ____ HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: ____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES ____ NO ____

MICROFILM DATA
DO ____ INIT ____ DATE ____
JAN 07 1972
ORIG) NSC ____
TO) PAF ____
WHC ____
SUBF ____

* GPO: 1971—412-412

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (36101)

SECRET

ACTION

December 27, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: HENRY A. KISSINGER

THROUGH: AL HAIG

FROM: MARSHALL WRIGHT

SUBJECT: Memo to the President on Mrs. Nixon's African Trip

The attached memo to the President is responsive to his December 26 conversation with Al Haig concerning Mrs. Nixon's African trip. It asks him to sign four letters to her hosts which Mrs. Nixon should carry with her, and seeks his approval of invitations which she would extend on his behalf to Presidents Tolbert and Houphouet-Boigny for Washington visits. When the President has acted on this memo, we will provide you with a trip memo to Mrs. Nixon, with a copy to the President, covering the substantive aspects of her trip and transmitting the briefing book prepared by State.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the memo to the President at Tab A.

SECRET

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

(36101)

SECRET

Sent to Pres

ACTION

December 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: HENRY A. KISSINGER

FROM: for MARSHALL WRIGHT

SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's Visit to Africa

Mrs. Nixon leaves for Africa on New Year's Day. The attached memorandum briefs the President on the substantive aspects of the visit and requests his approval of visits for Tolbert of Liberia (office call in February, 1972) and Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast (for 1973). We also need the President to sign the letters which Mrs. Nixon will carry. You also inform the President that you will prepare a covering memorandum for Mrs. Nixon's classified briefing book based on the President's approval of the attached memorandum.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you initial the memorandum at Tab A to the President.

MICROFILM DATA
DO ✓
INIT
DATE
ORIG) NSC ✓
TO) PAF
WHC
SUBF

CARD #5

Chuck Hizle - then pass original to Mrs. Nixon if the trip visits of not modify accordingly talking points.

SECRET

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

(36101)

December 29, 1971

SECRET

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER Haig for

SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's African Trip

Attached for your signature are the letters which Mrs. Nixon will carry with her on her African trip. They reflect your thoughts as given to General Haig and they have been coordinated with Ray Price.

For two of Mrs. Nixon's hosts there is no more important substantive aspect of their relations with the United States than their intense desire to pay a visit to Washington. We therefore think it will contribute greatly to the success of Mrs. Nixon's trip if she can extend on your behalf invitations to Presidents Tolbert and Houphouet-Boigny. Tolbert has already been invited to attend the Presidential Prayer Breakfast in Washington on February 2. We suggest that Mrs. Nixon indicate knowledge of this invitation (which was in fact extended by Senator Jordan without our knowledge) and tell President Tolbert that you are looking forward to receiving him in the White House if he is able to come to Washington for the Prayer Breakfast. President Houphouet-Boigny has been hoping for an invitation to a State Visit to Washington for some years. He thoroughly merits such an invitation in terms of his leadership position in Africa, his unique success at fostering economic development in the Ivory Coast and his persistent friendliness toward the United States. We therefore suggest that you authorize Mrs. Nixon to extend on your behalf an invitation to President and Madame Houphouet-Boigny to pay a visit to Washington in 1973. Our public handling of this inviation would not specify the time nor would it specify that the visit will be a formal one, for that would put Tolbert's nose out of joint. We would, however, make clear to the Ivorians both the time frame and the type of visit that we have in mind.

SECRET

When we have your approval of these recommendations, I will send to Mrs. Nixon the usual trip memo covering the briefing book prepared by the Department of State. Assistant Secretary of State Newsom is available to accompany Mrs. Nixon on the trip, if she desires.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That you approve the invitation to President Tolbert for an office call on February 1, 2, or 3.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

2. That you approve the invitation to President Houphouet-Boigny for a State Visit in 1973.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

3. That you sign the four letters to Mrs. Nixon's hosts at Tabs 1 through 4.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

(36101)

SECRET

ACTION

December 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: HENRY A. KISSINGER

FROM: MARSHALL WRIGHT

SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's Visit to Africa

Mrs. Nixon leaves for Africa on New Year's Day. The attached memorandum briefs the President on the substantive aspects of the visit and requests his approval of visits for Tolbert of Liberia (office call in February, 1972) and Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast (for 1973). We also need the President to sign the letters which Mrs. Nixon will carry. You also inform the President that you will prepare a covering memorandum for Mrs. Nixon's classified briefing book based on the President's approval of the attached memorandum.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you initial the memorandum at Tab A to the President.

SECRET

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

(36101)

SECRET

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's Visit to Africa

The purpose of this memorandum is to inform you of the substantive aspects of Mrs. Nixon's January 1-9 visit to Liberia, Ghana, and the Ivory Coast. In that connection we are seeking your specific approval of a 1973 State Visit for President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, of an office call for President Tolbert of Liberia in February, 1972, and of four letters from you which Mrs. Nixon will be delivering to her hosts (the texts have all been cleared with Ray Price).

A background memorandum from State and their suggested talking points are attached at Tab 5. This information will all go into Mrs. Nixon's classified briefing book along with a covering memorandum from me based on your approval of this paper.

A. Trip Objectives

The trip is intended to publicly highlight your personal interest in Africa, particularly in three African countries with whom we have excellent relations. In her meetings with Presidents Tolbert of Liberia and Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast as well as with Prime Minister Busia of Ghana, Mrs. Nixon will be able to solicit their views on African and bilateral issues and to say that she will personally inform you of what they tell her. In turn, she will be able to brief them on your Peking and Moscow trips and also be ready to comment on the bilateral questions discussed later in this memo. We shall make it a point to tell the press that Mrs. Nixon held serious conversations with her hosts and to indicate the topics covered.

We propose that she treat the Peking and Moscow topics as follows:

-- Peking. You have long been concerned that if things continued as they were with the PRC, at century's end we would face a nuclear power of one billion people, still outside the international structure of peace and order. Such circumstances would pose an intolerable

threat to world peace. We have no illusions about the seriousness of the differences that divide the PRC and the US. They will not be quickly or easily resolved, and they preclude the possibility that the question of diplomatic relations will arise during your trip. But a beginning must be made, and we hope that your trip will lead to better understanding between ourselves and Peking. Your purpose is to reduce world tensions. You have no intention of concluding agreements at the expense of other countries. We recognize our moral obligation to protect the interests of our friends, and nothing that happens in Peking will undercut that obligation. We are, in fact, convinced that the interests of all nations will be served by a reduction of tensions between ourselves and the PRC.

-- Moscow. We see the visit to Moscow quite differently than the visit to Peking. The task with Moscow is not to establish communication or a means by which to seek mutual understanding. We have had that for a long time. With Moscow, the task is to make concrete progress on the issues which divide us. We have made great efforts to encourage the Soviet Union to join with us in showing restraint in the assertion of national interests, and in demonstrating a genuine willingness to try to work out fair solutions to our problems. There has been some progress, for example, the Berlin Agreement and the Arms Limitation Talks. We hope that additional progress may be made either before or during the Moscow visit, on such issues as arms control and economic relations.

All three of Mrs. Nixon's hosts will also be concerned at the uncertainty which now surrounds the US economic aid program. We propose that Mrs. Nixon assure each of her hosts that you are personally committed to and confident of a continuation of the aid program, although we may be in for a period in which US aid resources may be more severely limited than in the past.

B. Liberia

Historic ties unite the United States with Africa's oldest Republic founded in 1847 by American freedmen. No state in Africa is as closely tied to us by tradition nor as expectant of our support as Liberia. In addition, treaty rights give us access to Liberia's port and airfield in wartime and we have $375 million in private investments (principally rubber and iron ore).

Mrs. Nixon's presence at Tolbert's inauguration is, itself, of great substantive value to Tolbert. It underlines your personal interest in

the "special relationship" between the United States and Liberia and that will be the theme of the visit, both publicly and privately.

President Tolbert will probably raise an invitation to attend the February 2 Presidential Prayer Breakfast at the Washington Hilton. Senator Jordan of North Carolina tendered the invitation without consulting us. If Tolbert accepts, he will certainly expect to call on you. He has, in fact, been extremely anxious to visit you, and you indicated in a recent letter the hope that an informal meeting could be arranged.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That you sign the letter at Tab 1 to President Tolbert of Liberia. Ray Price concurs.

2. If President Tolbert raises the February 2 Prayer Breakfast invitation with Mrs. Nixon, that she be authorized to indicate your knowledge of the invitation and your hope that an office meeting can be arranged, if he comes to Washington.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

C. Ghana

You met with Prime Minister Busia on November 4. Our objective was to thank him for his support on Chirep and to stress the importance we attach to the survival of Ghana's experiment with moderate and democratic government. Specifically, Busia wanted help on his foreign debt and cocoa problems.

Mrs. Nixon's stopover in Ghana will once again associate you with Ghanaian democracy, an increasingly rare form of government in Africa. We will stress her visit to Parliament. If Busia raises his economic problems with Mrs. Nixon, she will be able to reiterate your desire to see the United States do all it can to help Ghana's economy. She will have to caution Busia, however, that our aid resources are severely limited.

Busia rather than the ailing, figure-head President of Ghana is hosting Mrs. Nixon.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That you sign the letter at Tab 2 to President Akufo-Addo of Ghana.

2. That you sign the letter at Tab 3 to Prime Minister Busia of Ghana.

D. Ivory Coast

President Houphouet-Boigny is one of Africa's most senior (he is 66), most successful (his private enterprise economy is the envy of Africa), most pro-Western and courageous (he has called for dialogue rather than conflict with South Africa) statesmen. He has long wanted to meet you and State has recommended him for a State Visit. We have no problems with the Ivory Coast. They want both our friendship and our investment.

Mrs. Nixon will be able to tell Houphouet and the Ivorians that you admire their success. Privately, she will be able to reassure the strongly anti-communist Houphouet that your Peking and Moscow visits do not threaten our friends and to tell him that we are aware of his efforts to bring about peaceful, constructive change in Africa's relations with South Africa, and thus better the lot of the blacks. Your private encouragement will mean much to Houphouet. Finally, we propose that Mrs. Nixon invite him for a State Visit in 1973. This will give Houphouet the moral and public support his enlightened leadership merits.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That you authorize Mrs. Nixon to invite President Houphouet-Boigny for a State Visit in 1973. (If Houphouet accepts, we would announce that Mrs. Nixon conveyed your invitation for Houphouet to pay a State Visit at a time to be determined mutually at a later date.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

2. That you sign the letter at Tab 4 to President Houphouet-Boigny.

Enclosures:

Tab 1- Letter to President Tolbert of Liberia
Tab 2- Letter to President Akufo-Addo of Ghana
Tab 3- Letter to Prime Minister Busia of Ghana
Tab 4- Letter to President Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast
Tab 5- Further Background and Issues and Talking Points for Liberia, Ghana, and the Ivory Coast.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

To convey my deep personal respect for you and to emphasize the special relationship between our peoples, I have asked Mrs. Nixon to head the United States delegation to your inauguration.

You know from our previous meetings of my keen interest in Africa and of my fascination with your diverse and dynamic continent. I regret only that my many commitments did not permit me to be present as you assume your office. But I am happy that Mrs. Nixon can convey my warmest best wishes for your success in the years ahead.

As you may know, this is the first such trip in Africa by the wife of an American President. I know Mrs. Nixon and her distinguished colleagues -- Ambassador Westerfield, Dr. Graham, Mr. Lasker, and Mrs. Johnson -- will be received with the hospitality for which Liberia is famous. Please speak with them as you would with me -- with the frankness appropriate to the long and close relationship between our countries.

Knowing of your interest in my visits to the Peoples Republic of China and the Soviet Union, I have asked Mrs. Nixon to discuss with you some of my thoughts concerning these journeys. It is my hope -- and I know it is your hope, too -- that these visits will contribute to international understanding and lasting peace. And that, of course, is also the purpose of Mrs. Nixon's visit to Africa.

On behalf of all the American people, I am pleased to extend to you my warm congratulations. You can be sure my thoughts and very best wishes will be with you and the Liberian people at this special time and throughout the coming year.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
William R. Tolbert, Jr.
President of the Republic of Liberia

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

I am pleased and honored that Mrs. Nixon is visiting your country. Having in mind the warm and pleasant memories of my own visit to Accra in 1957, my only regret is that I cannot accompany her and have the pleasure of meeting you.

Americans have had a long and continuing interest in Ghana and her people. We have watched with great pleasure the reestablishment of democratic civilian rule in Ghana and the strengthening of the friendly ties between our Governments. Your own role in that process is well known and highly honored.

Given the breadth and depth of America's relations with Ghana -- economic and cultural as well as political -- I know the traditional Ghanaian hospitality which will be extended to Mrs. Nixon will have an even deeper meaning and will further strengthen the links between our countries.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

The Honorable
Edward Akufo-Addo
President of the Republic of Ghana

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I wish to express again my deep appreciation for your kind invitation to Mrs. Nixon to visit Ghana. Her visit recalls to me very pleasant memories of our talks during your visit to Washington last November. I only regret I was unable to accompany Mrs. Nixon on this journey so that I could renew both our personal friendship and my acquaintance with your country -- an acquaintance that stems from our attendance at Ghana's independence ceremonies nearly 15 years ago.

As you will appreciate, a great deal of my time is being spent in preparation for my visits to the Peoples Republic of China and to the Soviet Union. Knowing of your interest in these journeys, I have asked Mrs. Nixon to discuss with you some of my thoughts concerning their purposes.

Mrs. Nixon has looked forward eagerly to seeing Ghana again. She shares with me a deep personal interest in Africa, an appreciation for the example to Africa of your democratic institutions, for your personal contribution to Ghana's development, and for the particularly close ties that exist between Ghana and the United States.

On this first official visit to Africa by an American President's wife, I am pleased that Mrs. Nixon will be received with the traditional hospitality for which

Ghanaians are renowned. I have asked her to convey to you my warmest personal regards and those of the American people.

Sincerely,

The Honorable
Kofi A. Busia
Prime Minister of the
Republic of Ghana

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

It was very kind of you to invite Mrs. Nixon to visit the Republic of Ivory Coast. I recall with fondness my own brief visit to your beautiful capital in 1967 and the great courtesy with which I was received at that time.

Mrs. Nixon has looked forward eagerly to her visit. She shares with me a deep personal interest in Africa as well as a keen appreciation for the leadership you have provided to your people, for your country's remarkable economic development, and for the close ties that exist between the Ivory Coast and the United States. I know that she will be received with the traditional hospitality for which Ivorians are renowned.

I wish that I was able to accompany Mrs. Nixon, to meet you and to renew my acquaintance with your country. However, as you will appreciate, a great deal of my time is now being spent in preparation for my visits to the Peoples Republic of China and to the Soviet Union. Knowing of your interest in these journeys, I have asked Mrs. Nixon to discuss with you some of my thoughts concerning their purposes. And, of course, I have also asked her to convey to you my warmest personal regards and those of the American people.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Felix Houphouet-Boigny
President of the Republic of Ivory Coast

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 23, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Mrs. Nixon's Visit to Africa

Mrs. Nixon's January 1 to 9 visit to Liberia, Ghana and the Ivory Coast affords the opportunity to reassure the leaders and peoples of those influential African states of the friendship and esteem of the United States Government at the highest level. In a larger sense it is a forum in which to demonstrate the importance we attach to our relations with Africa in general and in particular with three West African nations who are proven allies in international affairs.

At her request, Mrs. Nixon's schedule is one which focuses on African endeavors in areas in which her deep interest is well established: health, education, welfare and women's activities. For the general public in Africa this will show a concern for the problems of development that new nations face.

In each country Mrs. Nixon will have discussions of substance with the principal leader touching on points of priority interest.

Our close relationship with Liberia is a unique one springing from that country's origin and history. The visit comes at a time when President Tolbert's inauguration reconfirms the recent peaceful succession following Tubman's death last July. As she is accorded first rank among the many distinguished visitors, Mrs. Nixon's public remarks and private conversations will find an especially attentive audience. In her private meeting with President Tolbert

we recommend that she acknowledge the special relationship and reaffirm our friendship and support for Liberia. We also suggest she extend an invitation to President Tolbert to call at the White House if he accepts Senator Jordan's invitation to attend the Congressional Prayer Breakfast February 1.

In Ghana, where she will meet Prime Minister Busia, we recommend Mrs. Nixon reaffirm our interest in the evolution of democratic civilian rule and reiterate our desire to support Ghana's efforts to ease its debt burden inherited from the Nkrumah regime.

In Ivory Coast, Mrs. Nixon will visit one of the world's most rapidly developing countries and will be the guest of a government which agrees with us on all major world issues. In her private meeting with President Houphouet-Boigny we recommend she reaffirm our appreciation for such support thereby marking our interest in former French Africa, which is less well known in the US than other parts of the continent. We also recommend that she orally extend an invitation to President Houphouet-Boigny to visit the United States in 1973.

Attached are talking points for Mrs. Nixon's meetings, suggested Presidential letters for her to deliver and press guidance for the visit.

Attachments:

1. Suggested letter to President Tolbert
2. Suggested letter to President Houphouet-Boigny
3. Suggested letter to President Akufo-Addo
4. Suggested letter to Prime Minister Busia
5. Issues and Talking Points, Liberia
6. Issues and Talking Points, Ghana
7. Issues and Talking Points, Ivory Coast
8. Press Guidance

R. Miller for
Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

LIBERIA

Issues and Talking Points

Background

Since taking office President Tolbert has made it clear he wishes to continue President Tubman's policy of cultivating Liberia's relationship with the United States. Because of our historic ties and long standing friendship and cooperation and because Liberia is a useful bridge between the United States and Africa we generally wish to be responsive to Liberia's overtures. We do not, however, wish to excite expectations beyond our capacity to respond.

In 1969, the Interdepartmental Group for Africa, chaired by the Department of State, confirmed that bilateral aid to Liberia is justified, but concluded that we must avoid taking a lenient position. New projects should be undertaken only where it is clearly evident that realistic goals are attainable and adequate local support can be expected.

In 1959 our two Governments signed an "Agreement of Cooperation" to "immediately determine what action may be appropriate for the defense of Liberia" in the event of aggression or threat of aggression. The Liberians believe this agreement calls for direct US involvement in case of an external threat to Liberia. We consider our commitment is only to consult in event of aggression or threat of aggression. The Liberians may paint an unduly grim picture of external threats to Liberia citing the communist leanings of the leadership in neighboring Guinea and Sierra Leone to elicit further military assistance.

Issues You Should Raise

1. US-Liberia Relations:

You may wish to open your discussion by:

-- conveying the President's personal regards to President Tolbert and his wife and his regrets she was unable to accompany you on your visit,

-- expressing your wish to confirm on behalf of the US Government our continued interest in Liberia, its people and progress and in maintaining the excellent relations which our two countries enjoy,

-- indicating your pleasure at having the opportunity to witness firsthand the progress Liberia has made since your visit in 1957,

-- expressing gratitude for Liberia's cooperation with us in international affairs. The most recent example is Liberia's co-sponsorship of our resolutions on Chinese representation at the UN.

2. Senator Jordan has invited President Tolbert to attend the "Congressional Prayer Breakfast" February 1 which President Nixon is expected to attend. We do not know at this date whether this invitation has been accepted. We recommend you state that:

-- President Nixon understands the invitation has been extended and has asked you to convey the hope that' if President Tolbert accepts he take the occasion to pay a visit to the White House if a mutually convenient time can be arranged.

3. US Affairs:

Of the things uppermost in the minds of Liberian officials vis-a-vis the US will be the future of AID and the President's forthcoming trip to the Peoples Republic of China and the Soviet Union.

A. US Economic Assistance:

You may wish to:

-- affirm US interest in continuing to assist in Liberia's development,

-- note we have been faced with a continuing decline in our total aid funds culminating this year in the Senate's initial refusal to authorize a continued foreign assistance program. You might add that the President is gravely concerned over such developments and that the Administration will do everything in its power to insure a continuation of a meaningful US assistance program,

-- indicate that within the constraints on foreign assistance imposed by Congress Liberia will continue to receive every consideration and that we are always willing to discuss new ways we can cooperate in projects with realistic social and economic goals.

B. China Visit:

In his letter to President Tolbert, the President indicates he is requesting that you inform President Tolbert of the purposes of his visits to the Peoples Republic of China and the Soviet Union. Therefore we recommend you state:

-- the principal purpose of the President's visit is that the PRC and ourselves achieve a better understanding of each other's positions, and that we establish a continuing means of remaining mutually informed about these positions,

-- the President hopes that the visit will result in at least the beginning of exchanges in non-political fields so that our two peoples will begin to understand each other better,

-- the President is emphasizing that neither side is under any illusions as to the depth and complexity of the differences that separate us. Having been two decades developing, these differences will not be easily resolved,

-- nevertheless, we hope to make a beginning toward clarifying our positions and toward working out the real differences that stand between us. To the extent that we are successful, we believe we will have helped reduce tensions in Asia and the world, which should be of benefit to all nations,

-- the President is stressing that he has the interests of Liberia and our friends and allies very much in mind. He has no intention of concluding agreements at the expense of other countries; the talks will, in fact, focus on US-PRC bilateral issues. Given our differences, the question of formal relations will not arise. Nor will US treaty commitments with other countries be affected. FYI Liberia maintains relations with the Republic of China.

C. Soviet Union Visit:

We recommend you:

-- make it clear the President has no intention of "dealing over the heads" of its friends and allies in any matter where their security interests might be affected. For example, there have been no, and there will be no, bilateral US-Soviet negotiations on mutual withdrawal of forces from Europe.

-- indicate the President feels some concrete progress might be made, either before or during the Moscow visit, in such bilateral areas as arms control and economic relations.

Issues He May Raise

If the subject of military assistance is raised you might say:

-- that we intend to continue our MAP program and authorization has been requested for a Military Sales Program to cover the items requested by the Government of Liberia. This program too, however, has become entangled in the general delay on foreign aid legislation.

GHANA

Issues and Talking Points

Issues You Should Raise

Courtesy Points

We recommend you:

-- express your appreciation for Prime Minister Busia's invitation to Ghana.

-- note how delighted you are to renew your acquaintanceship with Ghana after the passage of 15 years, and to see Ghanaian democracy in action.

Future of Economic Assistance

Economic assistance is Ghana's principal concern. We have been a major assistance donor to Ghana (about $25-30 million per year for the last four years). The Prime Minister appealed to President Nixon for help in meeting Ghana's debt problem in a letter following Busia's November 2-5 Washington visit. AID's difficulties with its appropriation for FY-1972 have caused concern in Ghana, as in other developing nations. The Busia Government has adopted two successive austerity budgets in 1970 and 1971 which have been roundly criticized domestically while being applauded by Ghana's creditors, aid donors, and international organizations--World Bank (IBRD) and International Monetary Fund (IMF). The Busia Government is committed to taking effective economic reform measures, but expects U.S. and others' assistance as a result.

You should reassure the Ghanaians that we support their economic development program. We recommend you:

-- say the President is concerned with the future of aid, and is following the subject closely.

-- add that with respect to Ghana's request for assistance contained in Prime Minister Busia's November 13 letter to President Nixon, the President reiterates his support for Ghana's efforts to strengthen her economy.

-- state that the United States Government is prepared to participate, in concert with other donors and creditors, in a combination of aid and debt relief measures to address both Ghana's more immediate problems and her medium-term concerns. In this connection, while regretably there is little the U.S. Government can do to assist Ghana in negotiating a line of credit with U.S. banking institutions, we are prepared to make available other increased economic assistance to Ghana in the coming year.

-- note that the United States will continue to cooperate with Ghana and other countries and international organizations to promote the most effective economic program and assistance for Ghanaian development.

President's Visit to Peking

Ghana recognized the People's Republic of China at independence, but suspended relations with Peking after the February 1966 Coup which ousted Nkrumah. Ghana consistently supported the PRC in the U.N., though it broke a 14-year old tradition to support the U.S. resolution at the 1971 General Assembly meeting. While there have been several low level overtures by the PRC to Ghana to reestablish relations, the Ghanaians have balked at making the first move. Prime Minister Busia is reportedly suspicious of Chinese motives, since most Ghanaians remember Peking provided support for guerilla training camps in Ghana in the Nkrumah days.

You should seek to reassure the Ghanaians on the meaning of the President's trip. We recommend you:

-- state the principal purpose of the President's visit is that the PRC and ourselves achieve a better understanding of each other's positions, and that we establish a continuing means of remaining informed about these positions.

-- say the President hopes the visit will result in at least the beginning of exhanges in non-

political fields so that our two peoples will begin to understand each other better.

-- note the President's belief that neither side is under any illusions as to the depth and complexity of the differences that separate us. Having been two decades developing, there differences will not be easily resolved. Nevertheless, we hope to make a beginning toward clarifying our positions and toward working out the real differences that stand between us. To the extent we are successful, we believe we will have helped reduce tensions in Asia and the world, which should be of benefit to all nations.

-- stress the President's intent to keep the interests of Ghana and our other friends and allies very much in mind. He has no intention of concluding agreements at the expense of other countries; the talks will, in fact, focus on U.S.-PRC bilateral issues. Given our differences, the question of formal diplomatic relations will not arise, nor will U.S. treaty commitments with other countries be affected.

President's Visit to Moscow

Ghana's relations with the Soviet Union have been cool, growing slightly warmer since the February 1966 Coup which toppled Nkrumah. The Busia Government is suspicious of Soviet intervention in Ghanaian internal affairs, a suspicion heightened last spring when a Soviet diplomat and the Czech Charge d'Affaires were expelled for trying to obtain Ghanaian security information. Despite these negative elements, the Ghana Government signed a cultural agreement with the Soviet Union, and has renewed economic/cultural relations with some of her Eastern European neighbors.

You should seek to reassure the Ghanaians on the meaning of the President's trip. We recommend you:

-- note the President is reviewing the general state

of U.S.-Soviet relations preparatory to his Moscow visit in May 1972.

-- make it clear the President has no intention of "dealing over the heads" of its friends and allies in any matter where their security interests might be affected. For example, there have been no, and there will be no, bilateral U.S.-Soviet negotiations on mutual withdrawal of forces from Europe.

-- indicate the President feels some concrete progress might be made, either before or during Moscow visit, in such bilateral areas as arms control and economic relations.

Issues the Ghanaians May Raise

The principal issue of concern to the Ghanaians is economic and debt assistance, covered in the previous section. We recommend you avoid comment on details of AID operations and on detailed financial measures with respect to Ghana debt. Other issues which might be raised, or points which could be discussed, are:

Rhodesian Issues

The official Ghanaian reaction to the proposed settlement between Rhodesia and the United Kingdom has been restrained. While critical of the British compromise on the majority rule question, the Ghana Government has adopted a wait-and-see attitude, pending the report of the Commission to test the acceptability of the proposals. The Ghanaians were critical of the U.S. Senate action to permit U.S. purchases of Rhodesian chrome.

Should the Ghanaians raise either situation we recommend you:

-- indicate that comment on the Rhodesian settlement would be inappropriate at this time, until the Rhodesians themselves have had a chance to make their views known.

-- say the administration made clear its opposition to the Byrd Amendment, but it was handed to the President as part of the military appropriation bill, which he had to sign.

-- continue by noting that chrome is the only item in the Rhodesian embargo affected by this legislation, and the U.S. remains determined to honor the embargo otherwise. Furthermore, Rhodesian chrome exports to the United States represented only one and one-half per cent of Rhodesia's total exports before sanctions were imposed.

Portuguese Territories

Ghana was irritated at our inability to either abstain or vote yes on the recent U.N. resolution condemning Portuguese colonialism in its African territories. This was especially disappointing since a leading Ghanaian diplomat, Y.A. Turkson, had worked hard within the U.N. Fourth Committee to produce a moderate resolution.

You should avoid the issue, but if pressed, we recommend you:

-- state simply that the wording of the resolution contained several objectionable features we could not accept. Our opposition to resolutions which present difficult legal problems for us does not lessen our desire ultimately to see the exercise of self-determination in the Portuguese territories.

Commodity Agreement

Ghana favors a cocoa agreement to stabilize prices, currently very low. Producers and consumers met in Geneva in late September to discuss a cocoa agreement, and are scheduled to meet in Geneva for further discussions on January 10. We have been disappointed at the work of the UNCTAD Secretariat which has tried to develop a hurried agreement which is impractical.

Should the subject be raised we recommend you:

-- say that commodity agreements must meet the needs of major consumers as well as producers, as the International Coffee Agreement has done, or such agreements will be unworkable.

-- add that we have been working for eight years toward a cocoa agreement. We believe it is in our own interest to work out an effective agreement, but we are not willing to accept any agreement just for agreement's sake.

-- we hope to play a constructive role at the forthcoming Geneva cocoa meeting in finding a viable formula for agreement.

Dialogue with South Africa

In November 1970 Prime Minister Busia said he favored dialogue with South Africa as one method of advancing the total liberation of Africa. He was strongly criticized by several other African leaders, but Ghana's Parliament approved dialogue as official policy in December. Later, at the Organization of African Unity meeting in April 1971, Ghana voted with the majority which rejected dialogue. It did this in order to maintain African solidarity. In statements since then both Busia and Foreign Minister Ofori-Atta have stressed their belief that dialogue remains one of the instruments for achieving a peaceful solution to apartheid. They are uneasy, however, at the prospect of being labled "dialogue men". The Ghana Government received South African opposition leaders Colin Eglin and Helen Suzman, a member of Parliament, for private talks.

Our own position on dialogue is that an improved atmosphere between South Africa and Black Africa is desirable from the standpoint of stability and peace of the continent. We welcome moves in this direction as indicated by our recognition of the Lusaka Manifesto issued by the OAU countries in 1969. However, we endorse no particular initiatives, believing that African

nations themselves must judge conditions under which such improvement is possible, as well as the form and timing of contacts. We recommend you:

-- express your interest in the Ghana Government's views on dialogue and elicit his comments.

-- ask for an estimate of the future of dialogue.

-- note we endorse no particular initiative, believing that African nations themselves must judge the conditions under which such an improvement is possible as well as the form and timing of such contacts.

IVORY COAST

Issues and Talking Points

Meeting With President Houphouet-Boigny:

You have not previously met the President.

Courtesy Points:

You may wish to open your discussion by:

-- expressing President Nixon's regrets that he was unable to accompany you on your visit.

-- noting that he retains fond memories of his visit to Ivory Coast in 1967.

-- expressing your pleasure over the rapid economic development in Ivory Coast, evidence of which you have seen since your arrival.

Issues You May Wish to Raise:

1. The President's Visit to Peking:

Ivory Coast enjoys excellent relations with Nationalist China and mistrusts the Peoples Republic of China (PRC). President Houphouet-Boigny told Ambassador Root in September that the improvement of relations between a country like the U.S. and the PRC is all right because we are powerful, but he does not expect Ivory Coast to be contemplating diplomatic relations with the PRC for a long time to come. He said the poor nations of the world have not developed a defense against communism, and the West is letting down its guard against the Chinese communist threat.

You may wish to seek to reassure the President on the meaning of the President's trip:

-- the principal purpose of the President's visit is that the PRC and ourselves achieve a better understanding of each other's positions, and that we establish a continuing means of remaining informed about these positions.

-- the President hopes that the two sides will be able to agree on at least the beginning of exchanges in

non-political fields so that our two peoples will begin to understand each other better.

-- the President is emphasizing that neither side is under any illusion as to the depth and complexity of the differences that separate us. Having been two decades developing, these differences will not be easily resolved.

-- nevertheless, we hope to make a beginning toward clarifying our positions and toward working out the real differences that stand between us. To the extent that we are successful, we believe we will have helped reduce tensions in Asia and the world, which should be of benefit to all nations.

-- the President is stressing that he has the interests of Ivory Coast and our other friends and allies very much in mind. He has no intention of concluding agreements at the expense of other countries; the talks will, in fact, focus on U.S.-PRC bilateral issues. Given our differences, the question of formal diplomatic relations will not arise. Nor will U.S. treaty commitments with other countries be affected.

2. The President's Visit to Moscow:

Houphouet, who following World War II had led his party to make a tactical alliance briefly with the French Communist Party, believes that due to this experience he understands communism better than most people. His strong anti-communism continues to affect his attitude with the Soviet Union, with which his Government broke two-year-old relations in 1969.

You may wish to reassure him with respect to President Nixon's visit to Moscow that:

-- the President during consultations he has been having with Western leaders since December is reviewing the general state of relations with the USSR, preparatory to the May visit. He is

making it clear that the U.S. has no intention of "dealing over the heads" of its friends and allies such as Ivory Coast in any matter where their security interests might be affected. For example, there have been no, and there will be no, bilateral U.S.-Soviet negotiations on mutual withdrawal of forces from Europe.

-- the President is indicating during the consultations that some concrete progress might be made either before or during the Moscow visit in such bilateral areas as arms control and economic relations.

3. U.S. Economic Assistance:

Although not a major recipient of American aid, Ivory Coast - as other developing countries - is sensitive to any reduction in our aid program as indicative of a growing lack of U.S. interest in the poorer nations of the world.

You may wish to:

-- seek to reassure President Houphouet-Boigny that we remain interested in and concerned with the world's developing countries.

-- emphasize President Nixon's personal interest in the future of AID and in its programs.

4. Presidential Visit:

President Houphouet-Boigny made a State Visit to the U.S. in 1962 and an Official Visit in 1967. He has long desired to meet with President Nixon.

You may wish to state the President has requested you to say:

-- he hopes that it will be possible for you to visit our country in 1973. He would have liked to extend an invitation for 1972, but with his visits to the Peoples Republic of China and to the Soviet Union -- and the Presidential Elections it would be difficult to plan the

kind of kind of visit he has in mind. The timing and nature of the visit can be worked out at a later date.

Issues They May Raise:

1. Dialogue With South Africa:

In November 1970 President Houphouet-Boigny issued a call for an African summit conference in concert with the Organization of African Unity to consider peaceful approaches to the problems of apartheid and minority rule in southern Africa. He maintains African countries cannot resolve these problems by force and are only making thing worse by idle and demagogic threats. He urges a dialogue with South Africa to attempt to achieve the mutual understanding and confidence which could eventually produce a peaceful way out of the impasse. Houphouet's proposal has received a very mixed reception from other African states, but he is undaunted in his belief that his proposal is the only practicable one to deal with South Africa.

In October 1971 President Houphouet-Boigny announced that Ivory Coast and other like-minded states will exchange official delegations with Pretoria. If these exchanges are encouraging, he stated certain of his colleagues and he will not hesitate to go to South Africa and invite South African Prime Minister Vorster to visit them. (A brief visit to South Africa was made during the same month by an Ivorian minister; an Ivorian sports delegation failed to arrive there in November due to an airline mix-up). There is a possibility that a meeting of African officials interested in Houphouet-Boigny's proposal may occur in January.

If your reaction to the dialogue proposal is sought we recommend you:

-- state that we believe an improved atmosphere between South Africa and black Africa is desirable from the standpoint of stability and peace of the continent, and welcome moves in this direction.

-- note that we endorse no particular initiative, believing that African nations themselves must

judge the conditions under which such an improvement is possible, as well as the form and timing of such contacts.

2. Primary Products

Although there are no outstanding problems between our two countries, President Houphouet-Boigny is becoming increasingly concerned over the prices paid for commodities such as cocoa and coffee, on which the economies of the developing countries depend, and believes that the developed world is paying insufficient attention to this basic issue. Should the subject be raised, we recommend you:

-- explain that the USG is aware of the problem, hopes that solutions can be found to this complex issue, and stands ready to work with all interested parties to this end.

There is some thought being expressed in Ivory Coast that the U.S. is against the conclusion of an International Cocoa Agreement similar to the already existing International Coffee Agreement, stabilizing both production and prices.

Should the subject be raised, we recommend you:

-- say that commodity agreements must meet the needs of major consumers as well as producers, as the International Coffee Agreement has done, or such agreements will be unworkable.

-- add that we have been working for eight years toward a cocoa agreement. We believe it is in our own interest to work out an effective agreement, but we are not willing to accept any agreement just for agreement's sake.

-- we hope to play a constructive role at the meeting to be held in Geneva on January 10 on a cocoa accord to find a viable formula to reach agreement.

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	NBR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
12	23	12	24	10	36101	

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES ____ KISSINGER X HAIG ____

FROM: ELIOT X ROGERS, W ____ LAIRD, M ____

U ____ LOU ____ C X S ____ TS ____

LOG IN/OUT ONLY ____ NO FORN ____ BUO ____ EYES ONLY ____ CODE WORD ____ SENSITIVE ____ NODIS ____ EXDIS ____ LIMDIS ____ RES DATA ____

SUBJECT: Memo ~~for~~ re Mrs. Nixon's visit to Africa incl. talking points for mtgs w/ heads of state

REFERENCE: S/S 7120613 OTHER ____ NOT XEROXED ____

APP'TS: PRES ____ HAK ____ TALKER ____ MEMCON ____ DATE REQ. ____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG	■		
STAFF SECRETARY			
FAR EAST			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	X		X
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA			
EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK (X)
MEMO FOR PRES. (X)
REPLY FOR ____ SIGNATURE (____)
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH (____)
MEMO ____ TO ____ (____)
RECOMMENDATIONS (X)
JOINT MEMO (____)
REFER TO STATE (____)
ANY ACTION NECESSARY (____)
CONCURRENCE (____)
DUE DATE: 12/29

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

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DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH ____ NOTIFY ____ DATE ____

SEE LOG ____ DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO ____

JOINED BY LOG ____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) ____

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: ____ SA, ____ HP, ____ HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: ____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES ____ NO ____

MICROFILM DATA
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TO) PAF ____
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SUBF ____

★ GPO: 1971-412-412

35010 14

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

INFORMATION

November 23, 1971

HAK (info)

MEMORANDUM FOR AL HAIG

FROM: Marshall Wright MW

SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's Trip

Thanks.

Bill Codus came over today, at his own initiative, to talk about the trip. His main purpose seemed to be to give me a copy of the Haldeman memo. He has talked with Mrs. Nixon and he stressed her strong desire for very, very few people in her party. Codus interpreted this as meaning that not more than one person from the African Bureau would be able to go, and that Mrs. Nixon did not want a translator. Codus also said that Mrs. Nixon knew of and liked my suggestion that she give two scholarships to women of each country she visits, but Codus said that CU in State said that there was no money for that.

After discussing it with Bob Moore, I told Codus that we could probably get along with one person from State, but that it was essential that Mrs. Nixon take a good professional translator along. Good translation is an art, by no means common, and by no means something that can be left to Foreign Service Officers who speak the language well. In addition, many of Mrs. Nixon's meetings will doubtless be with women, and a male translator would both feel and be out of place. State has a first class female translator. We should use her. Codus agreed to try to hold the line on this with Mrs. Nixon. He resisted the idea of enlisting Connie Stuart's assistance because "Connie has nothing to do with this". I am calling Connie myself. I also called John Richardson who assured me that State could and would find the money for the scholarships and that there was no problem in that regard. Codus was grateful.

Codus now plans to start his advance trip on December 8.

I pointed out to him the necessity of getting Presidential approval for the delegation to the Liberian Sesquicentennial. He said that was being worked on and indicated that Billy Graham would not be included. I told him that was a mistake, told him why I thought so, and he indicated agreement.

I will keep you informed.

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	LOG NBR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
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DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES ____ KISSINGER ____ HAIG X

FROM: ELIOT ____ ROGERS, W ____ LAIRD, M. ____ WRIGHT

U X LOU ____ C ____ S ____ TS ____

LOG IN/OUT ONLY ____ NO FORN ____ BUO ____ EYES ONLY ____ CODE WORD ____ SENSITIVE ____ NODIS ____ EXDIS ____ LIMDIS ____ RES DATA ____

SUBJECT: State participation in ~~Liberian~~ delegation to Liberia on Mrs. Nixon's visit

REFERENCE: S/S ____ OTHER ____ NOT XEROXED ____

APP'TS: PRES ____ HAK ____ TALKER ____ MEMCON ____ DATE REQ. ____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG	■		
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FAR EAST			
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EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ( )
MEMO FOR PRES. ( )
REPLY FOR ____ SIGNATURE ( )
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ( )
MEMO ____ TO ____ ( )
RECOMMENDATIONS ( )
JOINT MEMO ( )
REFER TO STATE ( )
ANY ACTION NECESSARY ( )
CONCURRENCE ( )
DUE DATE:

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
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JAN 03 1972				Noted by Haig	

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH ____ NOTIFY ____ DATE ____

SEE LOG ____ DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO ____

JOINED BY LOG ____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) ____

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: ____ SA, ____ HP, ____ HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: ____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES ____ NO ____

MICROFILM DATA

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ORIG) NSC ____
TO) PAF ____
WHC ____
SUBF ____

* GPO: 1971—412-412

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

36222

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's African Trip

Attached are copies of the letters which have been provided to Mrs. Nixon. Also attached are the Talking Points for her meetings with Presidents Tolbert and Houphouet-Boigny, and Prime Minister Busia.

You will note that the Talking Points involve two commitments on visits. Without consulting us, Senator Jordan invited President Tolbert to Washington for the Presidential Prayer Breakfast in February. Tolbert will certainly expect to call upon you while he is here. We are therefore suggesting that Mrs. Nixon make of necessity a virtue by extending on your behalf an invitation for an office call if Tolbert does come for the Prayer Breakfast.

Houphouet has for several years wanted an invitation for an official visit to Washington. As one of Africa's most senior, distinguished, and successful leaders, he thoroughly merits an invitation, and probably expects it as a result of Mrs. Nixon's visit. We are therefore asking Mrs. Nixon to extend an invitation for a visit in 1973. (Publicly, we will say the timing of the visit will be worked out at a later date.)

These two invitations will considerably add to the public impact of the visit, and will please Mrs. Nixon's hosts more than anything else that could be done.

The Talking Points we are furnishing Mrs. Nixon are designed to give a genuine substantive impact to her visit without involving her in the complexities which I understand she wishes to avoid. We are therefore suggesting that with each of her hosts she convey your thoughts on the Peking visit, the Moscow visit, and the future of the U.S. economic

assistance program. In Liberia and the Ivory Coast, the invitations to visit Washington will add the necessary bilateral note -- and we are doing the same in Ghana by having Mrs. Nixon assure Prime Minister Busia that we are following up on his request to you last month for help with his debt problem. Conversations along those lines will provide a solid basis for press briefings which stress the substantive nature of Mrs. Nixon's trip.

Attachments
Tab A - Letters to President Tolbert of Liberia
President Akufo-Addo of Ghana
Prime Minister Busia of Ghana
President Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast
Tab B - Talking Points

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

Especially because of our long friendship dating from the time we both served as Vice Presidents of our countries, I wish that I could have attended your inauguration in person. But I am particularly happy that Mrs. Nixon can be there to represent me as well as the United States Government. Her presence will underline two facts, the close relationship between the United States and Liberia which goes back 150 years and the close personal relationship between the Tolbert family and the Nixon family. I shall always remember that luncheon at your home in 1967 when I was privileged to meet not only some of the top officials of the Liberian Government but also the members of your family.

I am also greatly pleased that Dr. Billy Graham, who means so much to both of us personally, will be representing the United States. It is very fitting that Dr. Graham be present at the inauguration of one whose former leadership of the Baptist World Alliance meant so much to Baptists everywhere.

I trust that this historic occasion will inaugurate a new era of increased cooperation between our two countries which have been such close friends.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
William R. Tolbert, Jr.
President of the Republic of Liberia

The Following Pages Are the Best Available.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

I am pleased and honored that Mrs. Nixon is visiting your country. Having in mind the warm and pleasant memories of my own visit to Accra in 1957, my only regret is that I cannot accompany her and have the pleasure of meeting you.

Americans have had a long and continuing interest in Ghana and her people. We have watched with great pleasure the reestablishment of democratic civilian rule in Ghana and the strengthening of the friendly ties between our Governments. Your own role in that process is well known and highly honored.

Given the breadth and depth of America's relations with Ghana -- economic and cultural as well as political -- I know the traditional Ghanaian hospitality which will be extended to Mrs. Nixon will have an even deeper meaning and will further strengthen the links between our countries.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

The Honorable
Edward Akufo-Addo
President of the Republic of Ghana

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I wish to express again my deep appreciation for your kind invitation to Mrs. Nixon to visit Ghana. Her visit recalls to me very pleasant memories of our talks during your visit to Washington last November. I only regret I was unable to accompany Mrs. Nixon on this journey so that I could renew both our personal friendship and my acquaintance with your country - an acquaintance that stems from our attendance at Ghana's independence ceremonies in 1957.

As you will appreciate, a great deal of my time is being spent in preparation for my visits to the Peoples Republic of China and to the Soviet Union. Knowing of your interest in these journeys, I have asked Mrs. Nixon to discuss with you some of my thoughts concerning their purposes.

Mrs. Nixon has looked forward eagerly to seeing Ghana again. She shares with me a deep personal interest in Africa, an appreciation for the example to Africa of your democratic institutions, for your personal contribution to Ghana's development, and for the particularly close ties that exist between Ghana and the United States.

On this first official visit to Africa by an American President's wife, I am pleased that Mrs. Nixon will be received with the traditional hospitality for which

Ghanaians are renowned. I have asked her to convey to you my warmest personal regards and those of the American people.

Sincerely,

The Honorable
Kofi A. Busia
Prime Minister of the
Republic of Ghana

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

It was very kind of you to invite Mrs. Nixon to visit the Republic of Ivory Coast. I recall with fondness my own brief visit to your beautiful capital in 1967 and the great courtesy with which I was received at that time.

Mrs. Nixon has looked forward eagerly to her visit. She shares with me a deep personal interest in Africa as well as a keen appreciation for the leadership you have provided to your people, for your country's remarkable economic development, and for the close ties that exist between the Ivory Coast and the United States. I know that she will be received with the traditional hospitality for which Ivorians are renowned.

I wish that I was able to accompany Mrs. Nixon, to meet you and to renew my acquaintance with your country. However, as you will appreciate, a great deal of my time is now being spent in preparation for my visits to the Peoples Republic of China and to the Soviet Union. Knowing of your interest in these journeys, I have asked Mrs. Nixon to discuss with you some of my thoughts concerning their purposes. And, of course, I have also asked her to convey to you my warmest personal regards and those of the American people.

Sincerely,

His Excellency
Felix Houphouet-Boigny
President of the Republic of Ivory Coast

Talking Points

for the Meetings with President Tolbert,

Prime Minister Busia, and President

Houphouet-Boigny

1. President Nixon asked me to express his deep regret that he could not join me on this trip. As you know, he is deeply interested in Africa, and would particularly have enjoyed visiting your beautiful country again. He asked me to begin our conversation by giving you this letter from him. [At this point hand over the letter and indicate that it should be read now.]

2. My husband asked me to convey to you his thoughts on three subjects on which he was certain you would be deeply interested, the trip to Peking, the trip to Moscow, and the future of the U.S. economic assistance program.

3. The trip to Peking. My husband wanted me to explain to you what led him to take this initiative and what he hopes will come from it. My husband has been concerned for many years that if things continued as they were, the Peoples Republic of China at century's end would be a nuclear power with a population of one billion people, still completely outside the international structure of peace and order. Such a situation would constitute an intolerable threat to world peace. My husband felt that the effort must be made to establish a better understanding and a more helpful relationship between the United States and the Peoples Republic of China.

He wants you to know that he has no illusions about the seriousness of the differences that divide the Government in Peking and the United States. He also has no illusions about the nature of the communist regime in China and about the dangers which it poses to free governments such as yours and ours. He knows that the difficulties between Washington and Peking are real and deep, and have been twenty years in the making. They will not be easily resolved. But he feels that a beginning must be made.

He does not expect that the Peking trip will lead to normal diplomatic relations with Communist China. The purpose of the trip is, simply, to reduce tensions. The President believes that purpose will be served by beginning the process of communication with Peking and establishing a means by which we can understand each others' interests better, even if we cannot agree on the solution to our differences.

My husband has no intention of reaching any agreements at the expense of other countries. The U.S. recognizes its moral obligation to protect the interests of its friends. Nothing that happens in Peking will undercut that obligation. My husband is, in fact, convinced that the interests of all nations will be served by a reduction of tensions between ourselves and Communist China, and that is the purpose of the Peking trip.

4. The Moscow Trip. My husband sees the visit to Moscow quite differently than the visit to Peking. The task in Moscow is not to start communication. We have had communication with the Soviet Union for a long time, and we understand each other very well. With Moscow, the task is to make concrete progress on the issues which divide us.

President Nixon has made a great effort during the three years of his Administration to establish an atmosphere in our relations with the Soviet Union which would lead to progress. What is needed is mutual restraint, a willingness to recognize each others' legitimate interests, and the willingness to make reasonable accommodations in the interest of preventing conflict. This is what my husband means when he calls for an era of negotiation rather than confrontation.

There has been some progress, for example, the Berlin Agreement and the talks on limiting strategic arms. It is because there has beend progress in our relationship with the Soviet Union that the President is willing to visit Moscow. It is likely that the Moscow visit will lead to additional agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States, perhaps in the area of arms control, and more normal economic relations.

5. The future of our economic assistance program. My husband knows of Africa's deep concern with the treatment that the American aid program has received from Congress last month. He asked me to tell you that he understands fully what economic assistance means to our friends. He wants you to know that he is committed to a continuation of the economic assistance program. Although we may be in for a period in which U.S. aid resources will be more severely limited than in the past, my husband is confident that the United States will continue to play a major role in giving economic assistance to friendly developing countries. He wants you to know that Congressional passage of an acceptable aid program will have the highest priority for his Administration this year.

6. Other issues that may be raised. There are a number of rather complicated African issues that one or another of your hosts might raise with you. They include such matters as the British attempt to reach an agreement leading to the independence of Rhodesia, the impact on Africa of the U.S. relationship with Portugal, American policy toward South Africa, etc.

If your hosts raise these issues, they will not expect an immediate substantive response from you. I suggest that to any such issue you respond by saying that you are delighted to have had this opportunity to hear their views, which you will fully convey to President Nixon when you return to Washington.

7. Individual Points to Be Made

For the meeting with President Tolbert of Liberia. My husband knows of the invitation which you have received to participate in the Presidential Prayer Breakfast in Washington on February 2. He asked me to extend to you an invitation to call on him at the White House if your schedule permits you to come to Washington at that time. As you know, the preparations for the trips to Peking and Moscow and the fact that this is an election year in the United States have put such a burden on our schedule that it is not possible to schedule a formal visit this year. My husband does, however, look forward to having a good talk with you and hopes that the beginning of February is a convenient time for you.

For the meeting with Prime Minister Busia of Ghana. My husband asked me to assure you that we are following up on your request for help with your debt problem. We are urging the British to call the creditors meeting as quickly as possible, and we are working on an initiative that we might take at the creditors meeting that would be helpful to you. Ambassador Hadsel will be in touch with you on this as soon as the details have been worked out.

For the meeting with President Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast. My husband views with great admiration the success that you have had in building a strong economy in the Ivory Coast. He has hoped for some time that you and Madame Houphouet-Boigny would be able to visit Washington. Unfortunately, the preparations for the visits to Moscow and Peking and the fact that this is an election year in the United States makes it difficult

to try to schedule this year the kind of official visit that would be appropriate to underline the friendship between the United States and the Ivory Coast. The President has asked me, however, to extend to you, on his behalf, an invitation to visit the United States at the earliest mutually convenient time. We would like to announce the invitation now, with the dates and other details of the visit to be worked out later.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 1, 1972

Dear Mr. President:

Especially because of our long friendship dating from the time we both served as Vice Presidents of our countries, I wish that I could have attended your inauguration in person. But I am particularly happy that Mrs. Nixon can be there to represent me as well as the United States Government. Her presence will underline two facts, the close relationship between the United States and Liberia which goes back 150 years and the close personal relationship between the Tolbert family and the Nixon family. I shall always remember that luncheon at your home in 1967 when I was privileged to meet not only some of the top officials of the Liberian Government but also the members of your family.

I am also greatly pleased that Dr. Billy Graham, who means so much to both of us personally, will be representing the United States. It is very fitting that Dr. Graham be present at the inauguration of one whose former leadership of the Baptist World Alliance meant so much to Baptists everywhere.

I trust that this historic occasion will inaugurate a new era of increased cooperation between our two countries which have been such close friends.

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

His Excellency
William R. Tolbert, Jr.
President of the Republic of Liberia

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 1, 1972

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Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

The Honorable
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President of the Republic of Ghana

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WASHINGTON

January 1, 1972

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Mrs. Nixon has looked forward eagerly to her visit. She shares with me a deep personal interest in Africa as well as a keen appreciation for the leadership you have provided to your people, for your country's remarkable economic development, and for the close ties that exist between the Ivory Coast and the United States. I know that she will be received with the traditional hospitality for which Ivorians are renowned.

I wish that I was able to accompany Mrs. Nixon, to meet you and to renew my acquaintance with your country. However, as you will appreciate, a great deal of my time is now being spent in preparation for my visits to the Peoples Republic of China and to the Soviet Union. Knowing of your interest in these journeys, I have asked Mrs. Nixon to discuss with you some of my thoughts concerning their purposes. And, of course, I have also asked her to convey to you my warmest personal regards and those of the American people.

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

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President of the Republic of Ivory Coast

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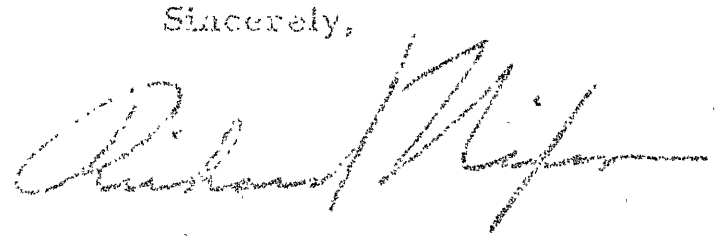
Sincerely,



The Honorable
Kofi A. Busia
Prime Minister of the
Republic of Ghana

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	LOG	INITIAL ACTION OFF
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DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

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SUBJECT: Pres ltrs & Talkers for Mr. Nixon's Visit to Africa

REFERENCE: S/S _____ OTHER _____ NOT XEROXED _____

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SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

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UNITED NATIONS			
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SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

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RECOMMENDATIONS ..... (_____)
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COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
12/28	Wright	HAK	X	Pres sgn ltrs to African leaders (12/29)	
12/29				Pres signed ltr to African Leaders	
12/29		Wright	S	Further Action 12/31	
12/30				~~No further action reqd~~	
				(See 36223 for action & MM)	

DISPOSITION

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SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: _____

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JAN 04 1972

★ GPO: 1971—412-412

34 899

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

INFORMATION

November 19, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR AL HAIG

FROM: Marshall Wright

SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's Trip

I thought you might like to see the attached cable which is an example of the kind of nonsense which will freeze all creativity and initiative without, so far as I can see, any countervailing gain. The problem, of course, is not to impress our posts with Washington's ultimate authority, or to impress the Bureau of African Affairs with how important the Protocol section is. The problem, rather, is to stimulate some imagination so that we can lift the visit out of the Protocol-heavy oh-ho-hum category. To do that we have to have the enthusiasm of the posts abroad and of the African Bureau here. This is exactly the wrong way to get it.

CONFIDENTIAL

RECEIVED
WHCA

1971 NOV 19 20 40

CONFIDENTIAL HCE431

PAGE 01 STATE 210866

47
ORIGIN CPR-02

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 NSC-10 NSCE-00 M-03 A-01 OPR-02 SS-14

USSS-00 RSC-01 /042 R

66604
DRAFTED BY:S/CPR:CODUS-SHEILS
APPROVED BY:S/CPR:MOSBACHER
S/S:MILLER
AF:MOORE SUBS

---------- 006167

R 191952Z NOV 71
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 210866

SUBJ: MRS. NIXON'S TRIP

THE PRESIDENT HAS DESIGNATED MR. WILLIAM R. CODUS, ASSISTANT CHIEF OF PROTOCOL, AS THE COORDINATOR FOR MRS. NIXON'S VISIT TO YOUR AREA. MR. CODUS WILL HAVE COMPLETE RPT COMPLETE - RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL ARRANGEMENTS ON THE SCHEDULE. NO COMMITMENTS OF ANY SORT SHOULD BE MADE AT THIS TIME AS CODUS PLANS TO TRAVEL TO YOUR AREA WITHIN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS TO BEGIN SETTING THE SCHEDULE. ROGERS

CONFIDENTIAL

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	LOG NO	INITIAL ACTION OFF
11	19	11	19	18	348,5	

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES _____ KISSINGER _____ HAIG ✓

FROM: ELIOT _____ ROGERS, W _____ LAIRD, M _____ Wright

U ✓ LOU _____ C _____ S _____ TS _____

LOG IN/OUT ONLY _____ NO FORN _____ BUO _____ EYES ONLY _____ CODE WORD _____ SENSITIVE _____ NODIS _____ EXDIS _____ LIMDIS _____ RES DATA _____

SUBJECT: Comments on State Cable re the Nixon's upcoming trips to Africa

REFERENCE: S/S _____ OTHER _____ NOT XEROXED _____

APP'TS: PRES _____ HAK _____ TALKER _____ MEMCON _____ DATE REQ. _____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG	■		
STAFF SECRETARY			
FAR EAST			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA			
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA			
EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ..... (_____)
MEMO FOR PRES. ..... (_____)
REPLY FOR _____ SIGNATURE ..... (_____)
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ..... (_____)
MEMO _____ TO _____ ..... (_____)
RECOMMENDATIONS ..... (_____)
JOINT MEMO ..... (_____)
REFER TO STATE ..... (_____)
ANY ACTION NECESSARY ..... (_____)
CONCURRENCE ..... (_____)
DUE DATE:

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
11/19	MW	HAIG	C/K	Info	
11/22				Noted by Haig	

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH _____ NOTIFY _____ DATE _____

SEE LOG _____ DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO _____

JOINED BY LOG _____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) _____

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: ____ SA, ____ HP, ____ HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: 1-22-71 JAD

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES ____ NO ____

MICROFILM DATA

DO ✓ INIT _____

11/23/71 DATE _____

ORIG) NSC ✓

TO) PAF ✓

WHC _____

SUBF _____

★ GPO: 1971—412-412

34815

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

CONFIDENTIAL

November 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

THEODORE ELIOT, JR.
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's Trip

As a result of a meeting yesterday with members of Mrs. Nixon's staff we are now in a position to provide the guidance below which you may wish to incorporate in a cable to the posts which Mrs. Nixon anticipates visiting.

"Following guidance for Mrs. Nixon's trip is altogether tentative and is provided to you only as a frame within which you can proceed with planning arrangements and can provide Department with scheduling recommendations.

1. Arrival in Monrovia on the evening of January 1.

2. Arrival in Accra on the morning of January 5.

3. Arrival in Abidjan on morning of January 7.

4. Depart for Washington on morning of January 9.

5. Mrs. Nixon would prefer that her schedule be related to people and their activities rather than to projects as such. Mrs. Nixon would also prefer to see things or activities in which the host country takes particular pride rather than concentrating on US-assisted projects or activities. Mrs. Nixon's primary interests are in the fields of education, the environment, women's activities, youth activities, and programs to assist the elderly or combat illiteracy. She is particularly interested in activities featuring unpaid volunteers.

6. Although we expect that the staff accompanying Mrs. Nixon will be relatively small, it may well be that host government would prefer and that it would be more convenient for all concerned if Mrs. Nixon were to stay

in host government facilities for distinguished foreign guests. We would appreciate posts' recommendations as well as description of quarters being offered. No commitment, however, of any kind should be made by post to accept such offers of hospitality until such time as advance party has surveyed the situation from the point of view of security etc., thus enabling decision to be made here.

7. If appropriate, you may indicate to host government officials Mrs. Nixon's desire to see activities of particular interest and pride to hosts, and seek their suggestions.

8. Mrs. Nixon wishes to minimize strictly social events beyond the unavoidable official entertainments.

9. For Abidjan -- in your submission of schedule suggestions please include an assessment of the Bouna Game Park and your judgment as to whether it would be a practical and attractive item to include in Mrs. Nixon's activities.

10. We anticipate that a member of Mrs. Nixon's staff will make an initial, on-the-site survey of the places to be visited before the end of November.

11. Posts should take the initiative in providing as soon as possible suggestions on the schedule, housing, gifts, and in identifying any special opportunities or problems that may come up in connection with Mrs. Nixon's visit.

FYI - In addition to protocolary gifts, Mrs. Nixon may wish to give scholarships for study in the US to two women in each country visited. Please provide specific suggestions for fields of study particularly appropriate for your country and for manner in which scholarship might best be awarded."

Jeanne W. Davis
for Staff Secretary

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	LOG NBR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
11	17	11	17	17	34 015	

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

LOG IN/OUT ONLY _____

TO: PRES _____ KISSINGER _____ HAIG _____ ELIOT

FROM: ELIOT _____ ROGERS, W _____ LAIRD, M _____ DAVIS

U _____ LOU _____ C X S _____ TS _____

NO FORN _____ BUO _____ EYES ONLY _____ CODE WORD _____ SENSITIVE _____

NODIS _____ EXDIS _____ LIMDIS _____ RES DATA _____

SUBJECT: Infor on Pres Nixon's Trip to be released to respective embassies

REFERENCE: S/S _____ OTHER _____ NOT XEROXED _____

APP'TS: PRES _____ HAK _____ TALKER _____ MEMCON _____ DATE REQ. _____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG			
STAFF SECRETARY			
FAR EAST			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA			
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA			
EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ( )
MEMO FOR PRES. ( )
REPLY FOR _____ SIGNATURE ( )
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ( )
MEMO _____ TO _____ ( )
RECOMMENDATIONS ( )
JOINT MEMO ( )
REFER TO STATE ( )
ANY ACTION NECESSARY ( )
CONCURRENCE ( )
DUE DATE:

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

Log in out

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
11/17				Davis signed also to Eliot	

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH _____ NOTIFY _____ DATE _____

SEE LOG _____ DISPATCH: ~~LETTER~~/MEMO ✓

JOINED BY LOG _____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) _____

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: ____ SA, ____ HP, ____ HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: _____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES ____ NO ____

Dispatched 11/17/71 upon receipt

MICROFILM DATA

DO _____ INIT _____ DATE _____

ORIG) NSC _____
TO) PAF ✓
WHC _____
SUBF _____

★ GPO: 1971—412-412

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL 34 662

November 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR HENRY KISSINGER ACTION

FROM: Marshall Wright

SUBJECT: Tolberts Thrilled by Mrs. Nixon's Visit

The President and Mrs. Nixon may be interested in the unusually happy way in which President Tolbert of Liberia has responded to Mrs. Nixon's upcoming visit (Tab I).

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab A to the President.

Attachment - Tab A

A

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: CONNIE STUART

FROM: JON M. HUNTSMAN

SUBJECT: Attached Memorandum

The President is desirous that Mrs. Nixon see the attached memorandum to him from Henry Kissinger with the accompanying letter from Ambassador S. Edward Peal.

Thank you.

cc: H.R. Haldeman
Alexander P. Butterfield

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE 34 662

WASHINGTON

November 17, 1971 THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN...

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT INFORMATION

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER HK

SUBJECT: Tolberts Thrilled by Mrs. Nixon's Visit

I thought that you and Mrs. Nixon might be interested in President Tolbert's enthusiastic response (at Tab I) to the First Lady's upcoming visit to Liberia.

Attachment

Tab I.

Show Mrs Nixon

I

34 662

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA
WASHINGTON

RECEIVED
THE WHITE HOUSE

1971 NOV 12 AM 10 22

November 8, 1971

Mr. President:

I have the honour to transmit herewith the following message received from the President of Liberia for delivery to you:

"THE ANNOUNCEMENT MADE OF YOUR DELEGATION TO MY INAUGURATION IN JANUARY ENSUING TO BE HEADED BY YOUR DEAR WIFE HAS BEEN THRILLINGLY RECEIVED AND HAILED BY MRS TOLBERT AND ME IN PARTICULAR AND THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF LIBERIA IN GENERAL WITH IMMENSE JOY AND I AM PERSONALLY HUMBLED BY THIS ARTICULATE EXPRESSION OF YOUR ESTEEM OF ME AND THE IMPRESSED SIGNIFICANCE YOU ATTACHE TO THE RELATIONSHIP HAPPILY SUBSISTING BETWEEN YOUR GREAT COUNTRY AND LIBERIA WHICH FRIENDLY TIE COMMA AS I AM RESOLUTELY DETERMINED TO MAKE FIRMER COMMA IS DESTINED TO BECOME STRENGTHENED BY MY ADMINISTRATION STOP WITH HIGHEST ANTICIPATIONS THE PEOPLE OF LIBERIA IN GENERAL AND MRS TOLBERT PARTICULARLY NOW LOOK FORWARD ENTHUSIASTICALLY AND IMPATIENTLY TO THE HISTORIC EVENT OF THE VISIT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICAS FIRST LADY AND WE FERVENTLY PRAY ALMIGHTY GOD TO BLESS OUR EARNEST ENDEAVOUR IN MAKING HER STAY WITH US MEMORABLY ENJOYABLE AND MUTUALLY REWARDING STOP WITH SENTIMENTS OF MY HIGHEST ESTEEM AND CONSIDERATION PERMIT ME TO SUBSCRIBE MYSELF YOUR INDEBTED FRIEND WR TOLBERT"

Please accept, Mr. President, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration and esteem.

S. Edward Peal
AMBASSADOR

His Excellency Richard M. Nixon
President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington, D. C.

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	LOG	INITIAL ACTION OFF
11	8	11	12	19	34 662	Wright

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES X
KISSINGER
HAIG

FROM: ELIOT
ROGERS, W
LAIRD, M
PEAL, S EDWARD/TOLBERT

U X
LOU
C
S
TS

LOG IN/OUT ONLY
NO FORN — NODIS
BUO — EXDIS
EYES ONLY — LIMDIS
CODE WORD — RES DATA
SENSITIVE

SUBJECT: Amb Peal forwards per Tolbert expressions of thanks to Pres for Delegation to Lis inauguration

REFERENCE: S/S — OTHER — NOT XEROXED

APP'TS: PRES — HAK — TALKER — MEMCON — DATE REQ.

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG			
STAFF SECRETARY		X	
FAR EAST			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	X		X
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA			
EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ( )
MEMO FOR PRES. ( )
REPLY FOR — SIGNATURE ( )
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ( )
MEMO — TO ( )
RECOMMENDATIONS ( )
JOINT MEMO ( )
REFER TO STATE ( )
ANY ACTION NECESSARY (X)
CONCURRENCE ( )
DUE DATE: 11/19

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
11/12	MW	HAK FR		might as well send this to Pres with very brief cover saying you & Mrs N. might want to know of this position unusually happy note. MW.	
11/16	WRIGHT	HAK	X	To Pres for info (11/18)	
11/17	HAK	Pres	CIP	Info D	
11-27				Noted by Pres + Mrs. Nixon	

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH — NOTIFY — DATE
SEE LOG — DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO
JOINED BY LOG — COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE)
SPECIAL FILE RQMT: X SA, — HP, — HM
SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS:
SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES — NO

MICROFILM DATA
DO X
INIT
DATE
NOV 29 1971
ORIG)
TO)
NSC
PAF X
WHC
SUBF

★ GPO: 1971—412-412

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

PERSONAL

November 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR AL HAIG

FROM: Marshall Wright MW

SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's Trip

Bus Mosbacher has a memo from Bob Haldeman concerning Mrs. Nixon's trip. Among other things, it says that Bill Codus of Mosbacher's office is to be the overall trip manager. I have just had a conversation with Codus and, incredible as it may sound, he now wonders whether this means that Mrs. Nixon's staff (Connie Stuart et al) will any longer be involved in trip planning. He also assumes that this delegation of authority from Haldeman means that he, Codus, will advance the trip instead of Mrs. Nixon's normal advance man.

I know Bill Codus well, and he is a pleasant fellow. He is pleasant precisely because he lacks those qualities required for managing a trip of this kind. Bill is incapable of being unpleasant to anyone (he is, for example, the one who could not find it in his heart to tell David Newsom and the Senegalese Ambassador that they were not supposed to accompany President Senghor into the President's office, thus precipitating that flap).

Bus Mosbacher called me as a result of your conversation yesterday with Ted Eliot. Mosbacher interprets your call as indicating that we are extremely nervous about the way the trip is being handled and he interprets Haldeman's memo as meaning that the trip has been placed in his, Mosbacher's, hands and that other offices in the State Department (for instance, the Bureau of African Affairs) and the White House (Mrs. Nixon's staff and the NSC) are to be involved in Mrs. Nixon's trip only as necessary to supplement Protocol's efforts.

Frankly, the gap between Mosbacher's conception and the realities, and the gap between Protocol's capabilities and the requirements are so vast that I do not doubt that sanity will soon assert itself and all this will work out all right with everybody doing that which they can best do. In view of

your involvement, however, I thought you should know of the Alice-In-Wonderland atmosphere which currently prevails.

I have taken the position with Mosbacher, Newsom, and Connie Stuart that I am anxious to extend any assistance required and equally anxious not to get into anybody's hair if the assistance is not wanted. So far what that has meant is that we have precipitated the decision on which countries should be visited, who should be on the delegation, and have drafted the text of the cable giving the posts the guidance they need in order to make rational suggestions for scheduling, housing, etc. I now intend to stop taking initiatives for a few days and see what, if anything, happens.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (34635)

LIBRARY

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION

November 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR AL HAIG

FROM: Marshall Wright

SUBJECT: Billy Graham and the Liberia Trip

Graham apparently needs some guidance on his participation on the Liberian trip. At Tab A is a memo to you from Higby asking for guidance and at Tab B is a memo to Henry from Haldeman asking that Henry's office get in touch with Graham and handle the matter. Tab C is what Graham should be told. Do you want to do it or do you want me to?

✓ Haig will do. done

_____ Wright will do.

Told Rev Graham that he should plan to travel to in Nixon's plane & return in another acft. Told him we'd advise on all details very soon.

CONFIDENTIAL

A

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 9, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL -- EYES ONLY HIGH PRIORITY

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL HAIG

FROM: L. HIGBY L

SUBJECT: Billy Graham Phone Call

Bob received a phone call this morning from Billy Graham concerning the upcoming trip to Liberia. Frankly, he was not sure whether or not he was still supposed to go in light of Mrs. Nixon's plans. Bob assured him that the President was still expecting Billy to go as part of the official delegation, but that we had not announced the delegation because we still had not firmed up Mrs. Nixon's complete schedule.

Graham indicated that he has been asked to attend a meeting with Tolbert at 4:30 P.M. on the 2nd and at that time could perhaps deliver a message from the President or something if that would be appropriate. He said that it, of course, depended on what Mrs. Nixon's plans were and when she was going to go.

Also, Billy wanted to know if he should be going with Mrs. Nixon or providing his own transportation. Bob indicated once again that Billy should plan on going with Mrs. Nixon.

Billy then asked if he could be briefed on what the planning was and if there was anything we could tell him about what the dates are for travel, etc.

Could you please let me know what I might report back to Billy Graham?

B

34635

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

AC[illegible]ELY

CO[illegible]NTIAL

November 11, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR : DR. KISSINGER

FROM : H.R. HALDEMAN

Billy Graham, as you know, is planning to go as part of the official delegation to the Inauguration of the President of Liberia.

Since Mrs. Nixon is going to be heading that delegation, the question arises as to transportation and timing.

Graham has been asked by President Tolbert to conduct a meeting in Liberia on the afternoon of January 2. Billy would like to do this, if possible, but of course wants to handle his timing and schedule in accordance with Mrs. Nixon's plans.

Since Mrs. Nixon will be going on to other countries after the inauguration, I assume the rest of our official delegation will at least return from Liberia independently. Perhaps they would be going over independently also and would be arriving early enough that Graham could handle this meeting on the 2nd. Or, perhaps he should go commercially so as to arrive in time to do it.

In any event, Graham would like our advice and I hope your office, or whoever handles these things, can be in touch with him to give him whatever guidance he needs.

34635

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

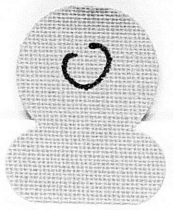
Date: 11/11/71

To : Al Haig

From : L. Higby

I have already ~~sent~~ written you a note on the attached. (Copy attached) Bob's memo updates mine. Also please note that Graham does not want to take a message to Tolbert.

not attached (GC)



Graham Should Be Told:

1. There is no question whatever that the President expects and very much wants Graham to be a member of the delegation to the Liberian Inauguration.

2. There has been no public announcement of Graham's participation for two reasons: first, the final decision has not yet been made on who else will be on the delegation. Second, we have still not firmed up Mrs. Nixon's complete schedule.

3. We expect that the delegation will be small and will, apart from Ambassador Westerfield, probably consist of only one other delegate beyond Mrs. Nixon and Graham. Mrs. Nixon will probably visit a third country in addition to Liberia and Ghana. Although no final decision has been taken the third country will probably be the Ivory Coast.

4. Graham should certainly plan on travelling with Mrs. Nixon in the official Presidential aircraft. There is no question but that the delegation will arrive in Liberia in time for all the ceremonies connected with the Inauguration.

5. We understand that Graham has been asked by President Tolbert to deliver the invocation at the Inauguration. We think it would be altogether appropriate for him to do so.

6. We understand he would like to take his wife and a personal assistant. We antitipate no problems with that and he should plan on doing so, if he wishes.

7. Although this is very tentative, the current thinking is that the delegation would leave Washington on New Year's Day, arriving in Monrovia late on the evening of January 1. We will be in touch later with detailed information on the travel and housing and all other details as soon as the information is available.

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	LOG NBR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
11	11	11	11	19	34635	Wright

LOG IN/OUT ONLY _____

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES _____ KISSINGER ✗ HAIG ✗

FROM: ELIOT _____ ROGERS, W _____ LAIRD, M _____ HIGBY / HALDEMAN

U _____ LOU _____ C ✗ S _____ TS _____

NO FORN _____ BUO _____ EYES ONLY _____ CODE WORD _____ SENSITIVE _____

NODIS _____ EXDIS _____ LIMDIS _____ RES DATA _____

SUBJECT: Scheduling & Itinerary for Billy Graham & Mrs. Nixon's Trips to Liberia

REFERENCE: S/S _____ OTHER _____ NOT XEROXED _____

APP'TS: PRES _____ HAK _____ TALKER _____ MEMCON _____ DATE REQ. _____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG	■		
STAFF SECRETARY		✗	✗
FAR EAST			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	✗		✗
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA			
EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ..... (_____)
MEMO FOR PRES. ..... (_____)
REPLY FOR _____ SIGNATURE ..... (_____)
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ..... (_____)
MEMO _____ TO _____ ..... (_____)
RECOMMENDATIONS ..... (✗)
JOINT MEMO ..... (_____)
REFER TO STATE ..... (_____)
ANY ACTION NECESSARY ..... (_____)
CONCURRENCE ..... (_____)
DUE DATE: ASAP

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
~~11/15~~	~~Haig~~				
11/15	MG	HAIG	X	Decision (11/18)	
11/18	Haig	NSC/S		Haig talked to Graham/Pl Haig note	

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH _____ NOTIFY _____ DATE _____

SEE LOG _____ DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO _____

JOINED BY LOG _____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) _____

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: _____ SA, _____ HP, _____ HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: _____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES _____ NO _____

MICROFILM DATA
DO _____ INIT _____
NOV 22 1971 DATE _____
ORIG) NSC _____
TO) PAF ✓
WHC _____
SUBF _____

★ GPO: 1971—412-412

34631

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY
CONFIDENTIAL

November 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR : DR. KISSINGER

FROM : H.R. HALDEMAN H.

The President asked that you plan on preparing a full and appropriate briefing for Mrs. Nixon for her Africa trip that will provide her with all of the talking points and background material that she will need.

I'm sure you already have this in the works, but just wanted to confirm it.

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	LOG NO	INITIAL ACTION OFFICE
11	10	11	11	17	34631	WRIGHT

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES ____ KISSINGER X HAIG ____

FROM: ELIOT ____ ROGERS, W ____ LAIRD, M ____ HALDEMAN

U ____ LOU ____ C X S ____ TS ____

LOG IN/OUT ONLY ____ NO FORN ____ BUO ____ EYES ONLY ____ CODE WORD ____ SENSITIVE ____

NODIS ____ EXDIS ____ LIMDIS ____ RES DATA ____

SUBJECT: Wants to insure Mr Nixon (1) Receives Briefing, (2) Talking Points & Background Mutual

REFERENCE: S/S ____ OTHER ____ NOT XEROXED ____

APP'TS: PRES ____ HAK ____ TALKER ____ MEMCON ____ DATE REQ. ____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG	■		
STAFF SECRETARY		X	
FAR EAST			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	X		
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA			
EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ( )
MEMO FOR PRES. ( )
REPLY FOR HAK SIGNATURE (X)
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ( )
MEMO ____ TO ____ ( )
RECOMMENDATIONS ( )
JOINT MEMO ( )
REFER TO STATE ( )
~~ANY~~ ACTION NECESSARY (X)
CONCURRENCE ( )
DUE DATE: 11/15

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
11/19	MW	NSC/S		No reply necessary to this. Noted. File.	

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH ____ NOTIFY ____ DATE ____

SEE LOG ____ DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO ____

JOINED BY LOG ____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) ____

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: ____ SA, ____ HP, ____ HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: ____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES ____ NO ____

MICROFILM DATA
DO ____ INIT ____ DATE ____
ORIG ____ NSC ____
TO) PAF ____ WHC ____ SUBF ____

NOV 22 1971

★ GPO: 1971—412-412

November 5, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR JEANNE DAVIS

FROM: Marshall Wright /s/

SUBJECT: Delegation to Accompany Mrs. Nixon to Liberia

You asked for my informal reaction to a delegation consisting of two yet-to-be-selected financial types, Lee Trevino, Senator Brooke, and Billy Graham.

The arrangements for Mrs. Nixon's trip are receiving the Secretary of State's personal attention, at the request of the President. It would, therefore, be inappropriate for us, or any other office in the White House, to express approval of a delegation to accompany Mrs. Nixon until the Secretary's views on it have been ascertained. I think that is the response which we should, at this juncture, give to Stan Anderson. Al Haig agrees.

As a personal observation I would like to add a couple of points.

1. Our Ambassador to Monrovia, Sam Westerfield, must be a member of the delegation. His addition would bring the proposed delegation up to 7.

2. It seems to me that there is great merit in keeping the delegation very small. As the First Lady, Mrs. Nixon alone makes a unique delegation. She does not need outriders. It would, in my view, detract from the dignity of her visit if in her public appearances and on her office calls she was simply first of a galloping horde. If I were casting a vote it would be for a delegation consisting of Mrs. Nixon, Billy Graham, and some prominent black American.

3. I am told that in connection with her Peru trip, Mrs. Nixon indicated a strong aversion to being accompanied by a large group.

cc: Al Haig

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

S/S 7115988
33785

LIBERIA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

October 18, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Inauguration of Liberian President William R. Tolbert

President Tolbert's inauguration will be January 2-4, 1972. We have close and important ties with Liberia, a large United States private investment there and we are its largest trading partner. Your attending the inauguration would have a highly favorable impact both in the United States and in Africa, as no United States President has visited Black Africa since President Roosevelt. However, I recognize that your schedule at that time will be so heavy that it will preclude your making the trip.

I therefore recommend a high level delegation, perhaps headed by the Chief Justice. You have already indicated your desire to have Reverend Billy Graham attend the inauguration. In addition, I believe it would be appropriate to include on the delegation leading Americans from other sectors of our society, such as politics, education, business, arts, the media, and sports.

A list of such citizens will be submitted for your consideration separately.

William P. Rogers

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	LOG NBR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
10	18	10	18	17	33785	WRIGHT

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES X
KISSINGER
HAIG

FROM: ELIOT
ROGERS, W X
LAIRD, M

U
LOU X
C
S
TS

LOG IN/OUT ONLY
NO FORN
BUO
EYES ONLY
CODE WORD
SENSITIVE

NODIS
EXDIS
LIMDIS
RES DATA

SUBJECT: Inauguration of Liberian Pres Tolbert, recommends high level delegation -- sugg list will be forthcoming

REFERENCE: S/S OTHER NOT XEROXED

APP'TS: PRES HAK TALKER MEMCON DATE REQ.

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG			
STAFF SECRETARY		X	
FAR EAST			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA	X		
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA			
EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ( )
MEMO FOR PRES. (X)
REPLY FOR SIGNATURE ( )
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ( )
MEMO TO ( )
RECOMMENDATIONS ( )
JOINT MEMO ( )
REFER TO STATE ( )
ANY ACTION NECESSARY ( )
CONCURRENCE ( )
DUE DATE:

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
10/20	MW	FR		Is this OBE in view of Mrs. Nixon? If not, draft cover expressing our views. (2) etc. MW	
10/20	FR	NSC/S		OBE. per MW	

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH 32314 NOTIFY DATE

SEE LOG DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO

JOINED BY LOG COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE)

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: SA, HP, HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: ~~Dispatched~~ 10-20-71 JAD

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES NO

MICROFILM DATA
DO
INIT
DATE
OCT 22 1971
ORIG) NSC
TO) PAF
WHC
SUBF

★ GPO: 1971-412-412

Ed 32462

ACTION

September 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER

FROM: Marshall Wright

SUBJECT: Billy Graham and the President of Liberia

Billy Graham is very high on the new Liberian President and has called the White House several times suggesting that President Nixon might wish to attend Tolbert's inauguration on January 3. That, of course, is a non-starter.

The President's staff, however, believes that Graham may raise this matter with the President at this Sunday's church service, and has asked for a memo from you to the President against that contingency.

Attached at Tab A is such a memo.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you initial the memo to the President at Tab A.

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT: Billy Graham and the President of Liberia

As you know, Dr. Graham is a friend of the new Liberian President, William Tolbert and is interested in strengthening the personal relationship between the two of you. Dr. Graham has now expressed interest in Tolbert's inauguration on January 3 and has expressed the hope that you will send a very high level representative, if, indeed, you do not choose to go yourself.

I could not recommend and assume that you would have no interest in going yourself. Tolbert does, however, attach singular importance both to Liberian friendship with the United States and to his own personal relationship with you. Dr. Graham may raise this matter with you at the Sunday church service. If so, I suggest you tell him that we will certainly send suitable representation. Personally, I think that Dr. Graham, himself, would be very good as your personal representative to the inauguration. You might want to broach that possibility with him on Sunday.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL HAIG

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

You will recall my memorandum of September 7 dealing with President Tolbert of Liberia. I have received word from Haldeman that we should send a special representative. The President definitely will not go. We should not ask State for any recommendations or take any further action on this matter.

Perhaps the President's representative to this event might be Dr. Billy Graham since he is a good friend of Tolbert's. I imagine that you will submit to the President a list of people to be considered and you may want to put Dr. Billy Graham on that delegation list.

Pres -- get staff running Graham sees Pres on Sunday.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 10, 1971

General Haig:

Alex Butterfield called regarding the attached. Apparently Higby suggested that Alex put the memo in the President's worship service folder . Alex does not think it should go in the folder -- at least as it is. If you or NSC thinks the whole subject is of interest to the President and someone could do a short memo on the subject, then the package should be given to Jon Huntsman for inclusion in the President's worship service folder.

The President will be seeing Billy Graham and if there is some big deal in connection with Tolbert, then Alex thinks it should be sent in in his folder.

Alex will be away this weekend. That is why he gave me this message.

Muriel

32314

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 8, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL HAIG

FROM: L. HIGBY

SUBJECT: Dr. Billy Graham Phone Call

Dr. Billy Graham called yesterday concerning the inauguration of Dr. William Tolbert, who is going to be inaugurated as President of Liberia on January 3rd.

Apparently, Tolbert is a very strong supporter of the President's having tried to talk Dr. Graham into endorsing the President back in 1960.

When Dr. Kissinger, Dr. Graham and the President were on the Sequoia recently, one subject that was raised was Dr. Tolbert. The President apparently indicated to Henry that he should follow up in making sure a letter was drafted for the President's signature to Dr. Tolbert.

Dr. Graham mentioned the fact that the President might want to consider the possibility of going to the inauguration.

It is Dr. Graham's feeling that Dr. Tolbert will take the leadership of Africa during the next few years. Tolbert is an ordained preacher and it is Graham's feeling that the continent of Africa will be almost totally Christian within the next twenty-five years.

I don't know if you are interested in working up a recommendation here for a Presidential visit. Graham said that if the President was not interested in going, then perhaps we would want to send Rogers or someone else of stature.

Dr. Graham will be at the Church Service this Sunday, so you may want to provide the President with some background on this whole situation or preferably provide the information to us so we can get back to Dr. Graham this week.

cc: Mr. Chapin
Mr. Butterfield

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL ALEXANDER M. HAIG

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

SUBJECT: President Tolbert of Liberia

According to Billy Graham, Tolbert of Liberia is going to be inaugurated as President for life on January 3. Graham indicates that when he was on the Sequoia with the President and Dr. Kissinger a few weeks ago that the President instructed Henry to see that a personal letter go to President Tolbert on the occasion of his inauguration.

Billy is now raising the question of whether or not the President may want to send a special representative to this affair or perhaps whether the President himself might want to go. I doubt very seriously if the President would go to Liberia in January; however, there is always an outside chance. Do you think we should have this staffed out for recommendations via State?

32314
(added)
to Wright

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 9, 1971

FOR: GENERAL HAIG

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

You will recall my memorandum of September 7 dealing with President Tolbert of Liberia. I have received word from Haldeman that we should send a special representative. The President definitely will not go. We should not ask State for any recommendations or take any further action on this matter.

Perhaps the President's representative to this event might be Dr. Billy Graham since he is a good friend of Tolbert's. I imagine that you will submit to the President a list of people to be considered and you may want to put Dr. Billy Graham on that delegation list.

Secret

NSC/S

10/27

Billy Graham will be going to Liberia and State will be proposing delegation soon. Log 32314 should be OBE'ed.

Fred Condon

Mrs. Davis — Marshall Wright should have action on this part I Additional Memo on 32314. should have copy — SNS

#32314

Mrs. Davis - action
Info: Wright
Recomm.

SECRETARIAT - ACTION

This should be added to the D. Chapin memo on the same subject. 7,

32314

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 8, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL HAIG

FROM: L. HIGBY

SUBJECT: Dr. Billy Graham Phone Call

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I don't know if you are interested in working up a recommendation here for a Presidential visit. Graham said that if the President was not interested in going, then perhaps we would want to send Sec. Rogers or someone else of stature.

Dr. Graham will be at the Church Service this Sunday, so you may want to provide the President with some background on this whole situation or preferably provide the information to us so we can get back to Dr. Graham this week.

cc: Mr. Chapin
Mr. Butterfield

32314

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL ALEXANDER M. HAIG

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

SUBJECT: President Tolbert of Liberia

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NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	LOG NBR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
8	7	9	8	14	32314	[illegible]

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES ____ KISSINGER ____ HAIG X

FROM: ELIOT ____ ROGERS, W ____ LAIRD, M ____ Crispin, D

U X LOU ____ C ____ S ____ TS ____

LOG IN/OUT ONLY ____ NO FORN ____ BUO ____ EYES ONLY ____ CODE WORD ____ SENSITIVE ____ NODIS ____ EXDIS ____ LIMDIS ____ RES DATA ____

SUBJECT: Request for Presidential participation on 8/8 to Pres. Tolbert of Liberia inauguration for life w/ Tonweary

REFERENCE: S/S ____ OTHER ____ NOT XEROXED ✓

APP'TS: PRES ____ HAK ____ TALKER ____ MEMCON ____ DATE REQ. ____

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG			
STAFF SECRETARY	X		
FAR EAST			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA		X	
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA			
EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ( )
MEMO FOR PRES. ( )
REPLY FOR ____ SIGNATURE ( )
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ( )
MEMO ____ TO ____ ( )
RECOMMENDATIONS (X)
JOINT MEMO ( )
REFER TO STATE ( )
ANY ACTION NECESSARY ( )
CONCURRENCE ( )
DUE DATE: 7/10

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED	CY TO
10/27				o/hen per Rondon	

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH ____ NOTIFY ____ DATE ____

SEE LOG ____ DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO ____

JOINED BY LOG ____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) ____

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: ____ SA, ____ HP, ____ HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: ____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES ____ NO ____

MICROFILM DATA

DO X

INIT ____

OCT 29 1971 DATE ____

ORIG) NSC ____

TO) PAF X

WHC ____

SUBF ____

* GPO: 1971—412-412

MEMORANDUM (30842)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

July 26, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR HENRY A. KISSINGER

FROM: Marshall Wright

SUBJECT: Memorial Service for Liberian President Tubman

A memorial service for Tubman is being held at the National Cathedral at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, July 28. Secretary Rogers is attending and will speak.

The question is whether the President should attend. It is not essential. It would, however, make a deep impression in Liberia and elsewhere in Africa. It would doubtless get heavy coverage in the Black American press.

If the President chooses not to attend then there is the question of whether some White House staffer should go in his stead, or whether we should treat the Secretary of State as the President's personal representative for the occasion.

The attached memo recommends that the President attend or, failing that, indicate whether he wishes to be represented by Rogers, Rumsfeld, or MacGregor. (I am assuming that you do not wish to attend.)

RECOMMENDATION:

That you initial the memo to the President at Tab A.

He won't attend. Send Rumsfeld or Rogers.

HK

A

MEMORANDUM (30842)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT: Memorial Service for Liberian President William Tubman

A memorial service for Tubman will take place at the Washington National Cathedral on Wednesday, July 28, at 11:00 a.m. Secretary Rogers has agreed to attend, and to speak.

The question arises as to whether you would wish to attend or to have someone from the White House Staff attend in your stead.

Your attendance, of course, would add great dignity to the occasion and be deeply appreciated in Liberia. It is not, however, necessary.

If you choose not to attend, I think it would be best to have someone go on your behalf from the White House Staff, in addition to Secretary Rogers, who would of course be your prime representative. This would avert the possibility of jaundiced criticism. I suggest Don Rumsfeld or Clark MacGregor might be good choices (Bob Finch will already be on his way to Liberia).

If your schedule permits I am inclined to think that your personal attendance would be a good idea. Precisely because it is not expected it would make a deeper impression both abroad and at home. If you decide to attend, I am confident we could structure the occasion in such a way that it would not take more than an hour or so of your time.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you attend the memorial service at National Cathedral at 11:00 a.m., June 28.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

If you choose not to attend, that you designate whether you wish to be represented by:

Rumsfeld _____
MacGregor _____

DOC MO	DOC DA	RECD MO	RECD DA	RECD HR	LOG NR	INITIAL ACTION OFF
7	26	7	26	19	30042	

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

LOG IN/OUT ONLY _____

TO: PRES _____ KISSINGER X HAIG _____

FROM: ELIOT _____ ROGERS, W _____ LAIRD, M _____ WRIGHT

U X LOU _____ C _____ S _____ TS _____

NO FORN _____ BUO _____ EYES ONLY _____ CODE WORD _____ SENSITIVE _____

NODIS _____ EXDIS _____ LIMDIS _____ RES DATA _____

SUBJECT: Memorial Service for Liberian Pres Tubman at the National Cathedral 7/28

REFERENCE: S/S _____ OTHER _____ NOT XEROXED _____

APP'TS: PRES _____ HAK _____ TALKER _____ MEMCON _____ DATE REQ. _____

DOC SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTION/ACTION

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION	ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/HAIG			
STAFF SECRETARY			
FAR EAST			
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA			X
NR EAST/NORTH AFRICA			
EUROPE/CANADA			
LATIN AMERICA			
UNITED NATIONS			
ECONOMIC			
SCIENTIFIC			
LR PLANNING			
PROGRAM ANALYSIS			
NSC PLANNING			
CONGRESSIONAL			

ACTION REQUIRED

MEMO FOR HAK ..... ( )
MEMO FOR PRES. ..... ( )
REPLY FOR _____ SIGNATURE ..... ( )
FOR DISTRIBUTION/DISPATCH ..... ( )
MEMO _____ TO _____ ..... ( )
RECOMMENDATIONS ..... ( )
JOINT MEMO ..... ( )
REFER TO STATE ..... ( )
ANY ACTION NECESSARY ..... ( )
CONCURRENCE ..... ( )
DUE DATE:

COMMENTS: *(Including Special Instructions)*

INTERNAL/INTERIM ROUTING

DATE	FROM	TO	S	ACTION REQUIRED		CY TO
7/26	KD	HAK	X	Pres for Decision	7/27	
7/28				Hak Disapproved Rec		
		[illegible]	S	[illegible]	[illegible]	

DISPOSITION

CROSS REF WITH _____ NOTIFY _____ DATE _____

SEE LOG _____ DISPATCH: LETTER/MEMO _____

JOINED BY LOG _____ COPIES: (AS MARKED ABOVE) X

SPECIAL FILE RQMT: ____ SA, ____ HP, X HM

SPECIAL DISPOSITION COMMENTS: _____

SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: YES ____ NO ____

MICROFILM DATA
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ORIG)
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WHC ____
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★ GPO: 1971—412-412

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 23, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER HK

SUBJECT: Death of President Tubman

We have just learned that President Tubman of Liberia died in the London Clinic of a massive hemorrhage caused by heart attack following a prostrate operation. The President's family asked the Clinic not to publicly disclose the news of death at this time. The U. K. Government has offered to transport the body to Liberia if the family desires.

I will inform you of any additional developments.

LDX

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

July 25, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. THEODORE ELIOT
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SUBJECT: U.S. Representation at Tubman Funeral

Reference your memorandum of July 24 concerning the Tubman funeral, the President has designated Mr. Robert Finch, Counsellor to the President, to head the U.S. delegation. The proposed delegation contained in your memorandum is otherwise accepted with the provision that its final composition will be determined by Mr. Robert Brown of the White House staff. Mr. Brown will make initial contacts with the delegates in every case and it is requested that you proceed with the necessary arrangements for the travel and reception of the U.S. delegation in close coordination with Messrs. Robert Brown and Marshall Wright of the NSC staff.

Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
Brigadier General, U.S. Army
Deputy Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

cc: Mr. Robert Brown

CONFIDENTIAL

'71 JUL 25 PM 3:41
LDX'D
WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

CONFIDENTIAL

July 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: U.S. Representation at Tubman Funeral

As you know, President Tubman of Liberia died in London July 23. President Tubman was a highly respected, moderate leader in Africa and a good friend of the United States. Our special relations with Liberia date from 1816 when the American Colonization Society was given a charter by the U.S. Congress to send freed slaves to the West Coast of Africa. We have important interests in Liberia including considerable private U.S. investment and trade.

In view of President Tubman's standing in Africa and the importance of U.S.-Liberia relations, and since his funeral will doubtless be attended by numerous chiefs of state, it is essential we have appropriate U.S. representation at the funeral. Therefore, we recommend that the President appoint the Vice President to represent him as head of a U.S. delegation. It would be appropriate if he were accompanied by members of Congress, such as Representative Charles Diggs, Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, Senator Edward Brooke, an appropriate representative from the Office of the President, a representative of the Department of State, Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs W. Beverly Carter, Jr., and a representative of the private community. We believe Roy Wilkins, the Executive Director of the NAACP and the elder statesman among the black American leadership, might be an appropriate candidate from the private community.

CONFIDENTIAL

If you concur and the President approves, I recommend that we inform the Vice President and that consideration be given to his remaining abroad unless there are protracted delays in setting a date for the funeral.

Theodore L. Eliot Jr.

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

6

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Department of State TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL

HAR ID

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2477
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 3581

INCN: 6 8 6 7Q
JULY 25, 1971
0508Z

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
71 JUL 25 PM 12

NODIS

SUBJECT: US REPRESENTATION AT TUBMAN FUNERAL

REF: MONROVIA 3580

1. WE STILL HAVE NO INDICATION OF DATE FOR TUBMAN'S INTERMENT. IT IS NOT UNLIKELY THAT LIBERIANS WILL WISH HIM TO LIE IN STATE SEVERAL DAYS AND THAT INTERMENT MAY BE DELAYED PAST MIDDLE OF NEXT WEEK.

2. NONETHELESS PRESIDENT TOLBERT IN COURSE CONVERSATION REPORTED REFTEL MADE STRONG PERSONAL PLEA THAT US SPECIAL INTEREST IN LIBERIA BE SYMOBLIZED BY HIGHEST LEVEL REPRESENTATION AT TUBMAN FUNERAL. I SUSPECT PRESIDENT TOLBERT HOPING THAT PRESIDENT NIXON WILL MAKE APPEARANCE. THROUGH TWENTY-FOUR HOUR ROUND-TRIP PRESIDENT NIXON COULD REINFORCE OUR PROSPECTS IN NATION THAT HARBOURS BULK OF OUR HARD INTERESTS IN WEST AFRICA, AND SIMULTANEOUSLY REFLECT DEPTH OF PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT TO AFRICAN CONTINENT.

3. ALTERNATIVELY, I WOULD URGE THAT VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW REPRESENT PRESIDENT NIXON AT FUNERAL.

4. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY WOULD BE THAT OF PERSUADING FORMER PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON TO REPRESENT US. WHILE IN OFFICE PRESIDENT JOHNSON HOSTED PRESIDENT TUBMAN IN WASHINTON. IN ADDITION HIS NOMINATION BY PRESIDENT NIXON WOULD USEFULLY EMPHASIZE TO LIBERIANS FACT THAT US COMMITMENT TO MAINTENANCE OF SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH LIBERIA IS ONE THAT TRANSCENDS PARTISAN POLITICS.

5. WHILE EITHER AGNEW OR JOHNSON WOULD BE SATISFACTORILY HIGH LEVEL HEAD OF DELEGATION, IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE IF DELEGATION ALSO CONTAINED AN ELEMENT SYMVOLIC OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S PERSONAL INTEREST IN LIBERIA, WHICH HE HAS TWICE VISITED. THIS END WOULD BE NICELY SERVED BY INCLUSION IN DELEGATION OF DAVID EISENHOWERS. DAVID IS NOT ONLY PRESIDENT NIXON'S SON-IN-LAW BUT ALSO DESCENDANT OF FORMER US PRESIDENT WHO KNEW TUBMAN AND WHOSE MEMORY REVERED AND RESPECTED BY LIBERIANS.

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

CONFIDENTIAL

NODIS NODIS NODIS

6. THE ABOVE THOUGHTS HAVE ARISEN IN CONTEXT OF AN ASPECT OF MY CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT TOLBERT NOT COVERED BY REFTEL. I EXPRESSED TO TOLBERT AWARENESS THAT HIS BURDENS HEAVY AND CONFIDENCE THAT HE WOULD BE ABLE WITH GOD'S HELP TO BEAR THEM. I RECALLED THAT TWICE IN PAST GENERATION US VICE PRESIDENT HAD BEEN CALLED UPON UNEXPECTEDLY TO ASSUME FULL BURDEN OF PRESIDENCY AND HAD DONE SO. PRESIDENT TOLBERT SEEMED TO REFLECT ON THESE IDEAS AND WILL I AM SURE ANALYZE US DELEGATION IN TERMS HISTORICAL SYMBOLISM. GP-1.

WESTERFIELD

BT

NNNN

NOT TO BE REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHORIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NODIS

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Department of State TELEGRAM

SECRET

WH

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1892
BT
S E C R E T MONROVIA 2210

≡ 4 1 1 0 Q

14 MAY 8 01 AM

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

MAY 14 AM 10:35

NODIS

FOR ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOORE

SUBJECT: SUCCESSION QUESTION

REF: MONROVIA 1997

1. I HAD HOPED THAT REFTEL WOULD BE OUR LAST COMMUNICATION REGARDING THE MYSTERIOUS ACTION OF THE LEGISLATURE LAST MONTH WITH WHICH I WOULD BURDEN THE DEPARTMENT PENDING ACQUISITION OF AN ACTUAL COPY OF THE LEGISLATIVE ACT IN QUESTION. HOWEVER, IN RECENT PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL CONVERSATIONS, STEVE TOLBERT HAS PROVIDED ADDITIONAL INFORMATION OF POTENTIAL SIGNIFICANCE.

2. WE HAVE RECEIVED ADDITIONAL CONFIRMATION OF THE BASIC REVISIONS OF THE ACT AS DESCRIBED BY TOLBERT AND DENNIS. STEVE HAS NOW ADDED THE INFORMATION THAT PROVISIONS MORE NEARLY APPROXIMATING EARLIER RUMORS WERE INCLUDED IN THE ACT WITH RESPECT TO THE LONG (EIGHT MONTHS) "LAME-DUCK" PERIOD BETWEEN NATIONAL ELECTIONS AND INAUGURATION. SHOULD THE PRESIDENT DIE, RESIGN OR BE INCAPACITATED DURING THIS PERIOD, THE VICE PRESIDENT WOULD BE OBLIGED TO ARRANGE A NATIONAL GENERAL ELECTION WITHIN A NINETY-DAY PERIOD FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL OFFICE. IN OTHER WORDS THE VICE PRESIDENT WOULD NOT SUCCEED WITH THE EXPECTATION OF AUTOMATICALLY SERVING OUT BOTH THE REMAINDER OF THE OLD TERM AND THE FULL FOUR YEARS OF THE SUCCEEDING TERM.

3. COMMENT: UNDER THIS ARRANGEMENT, TOLBERT WOULD THEORETICALLY LOSE WHAT HE NOW APPEARS TO ENJOY IMPLICITLY UNDER THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION: AUTOMATIC INSTALLATION UPON TUBMAN'S DEPARTURE FOR A TERM EXTENDING TO 1976. HOWEVER, HE WOULD PRESUMABLY GAIN IN THE EVENT OF TUBMAN'S EARLY DEPARTURE THE POSSIBILITY OF PRESIDING OVER ELECTIONS THAT WOULD PLACE THE WINNER IN OFFICE FOR A FULL EIGHT YEARS. (THE CONSTITUTION PRESENTLY PROVIDES FOR AN INITIAL PRESIDENTIAL TERM OF FOUR YEARS.) GP-1.

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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS PROJECT

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Department of State TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL

P 221412Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8638
INFO RUTAND/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 168
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 0854

5 1 6 2 Q
1970 FEB 22 AM 10 35

NODIS

SECTO 123

SUBJ: SECRETARY'S PRIVATE MEETING WITH AHIDJO

IN THE COURSE OF THIS PRIVATE CONVERSATION, HELD IMMEDIATELY AFTER LUNCHEON, FIVE SUBJECTS WERE DISCUSSED BRIEFLY: INTERNAL SECURITY, VIET-NAM, REGIONAL AID OFFICE, THE U.S. AMBASSADOR, AND NIGERIA.

1. REFERRING TO THEIR EARLIER CONVERSATION THE SECRETARY TOLD AHIDJO THAT IF THE CAMEROON CAME UNDER DIRECT ATTACK THE U.S. WOULD VIEW REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE IN A DIFFERENT LIGHT. AHIDJO SAID HE WAS NOT AT THIS TIME ASKING FOR ANY FORM OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE. HE MIGHT IN THE FUTURE ASK US FOR TECHNICAL AID BECAUSE HIS MILITARY VEHICLES WERE NO LONGER OPERATIONAL AND THERE WERE NO ROADS LEADING TO THE BORDER AREAS NEAR CONGO(B) WHERE TROUBLE HAD OCCURRED IN THE PAST. IT TAKES SEVERAL DAYS TO REACH SOME OF THESE AREAS ON FOOT. UP TO NOW GROUPS OF TEN OR FIFTEEN HAD OCCASIONALLY COME ACROSS THE BORDER, BUT HAD BEEN REPELLED WITHOUT ANY DIFFICULTY. THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT THAT ONE SHOULD NOT OVER-DRAMATIZE THE CHICOM THREAT IN CONGO(B); STILL, AS A STATESMAN, HE WAS AWARE OF THE THREAT AND COULD NOT AFFORD TO NEGLECT IT.

2. AHIDJO STRESSED HIS COMPLETE CONCURRENCE WITH U.S. POLICIES IN VIET-NAM. THUS, HE DID NOT FEEL IT NECESSARY TO ENTER INTO A DISCUSSION ON THE SUBJECT. HE MENTIONED HIS OWN EARLIER TROUBLES WITH TERRORISTS. HE HAD IMMEDIATELY ASKED THE FRENCH TO TRAIN HIS OWN MEN, NOT TO DO THE FIGHTING FOR HIM. AHIDJO RECALLED THAT OUR FIRST AMBASSADOR TO CAMEROON, WHO HAD BEEIN IN VIET-NAM FOR SEVERAL YEARS, OFTEN POINTED OUT THAT AHIDJO HAD PROVIDED THE VITAL INGREDIENT THAT HAD BEEN MISSING IN VIET-NAM. THE SECRETARY ASSURED PRESIDENT AHIDJO THAT WE WOULD CONTINUE OUR PRESENT POLICY OF VIETNAMIZATION AND GRADUAL WITHDRAWAL, BUT WITHOUT UNDUE HASTE. PRESIDENT AHIDJO POINTED OUT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT NOT TO CREATE A VACUUM BY PULLING OUT TOO FAST.

3. IN OUTLINING OUR PLANS FOR THE AID REGIONAL OFFICE, THE SECRETARY MENTIONED EQUATORIAL GUINEA. AHIDJO WANTED TO EXPRESS

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HIS CONCERN OVER E.G. AND THE COURSE IT MIGHT FOLLOW IN THE FUTURE. A LOT OF ACTIVITY IS TAKING PLACE AROUND THAT SMALL, BUT STRATEGICALLY LOCATED, COUNTRY AND ITS LEADER IS VERY UNSTABLE. AHIDJO WISHED TO REGISTER HIS CONCERN, BUT WHEN THE SECRETARY SUGGESTED LEAVING E.G. OUT OF THE SCOPE OF THE AID REGIONAL OFFICE, AHIDJO SAID THAT HE PREFERRED THAT IT BE INCLUDED.

4. THE SECRETARY ASKED AHIDJO IF HE LIKED OUR NEW AMBASSADOR. AHIDJO RESPONDED THAT ALTHOUGH HE HAD NOT BEEN HERE VERY LONG, THE AMBASSADOR HAD ALREADY MADE A GOOD IMPRESSION ON HIM. HE ADDED THAT HE KNEW SOMETHING ABOUT HIS BACKGROUND BEFORE HE CAME. WHEN AHIDJO WAS IN WASHINGTON IN SEPTEMBER, A PERSONAL FRIEND WHO WAS U.S. CONSUL IN CAMEROON BEFORE INDEPENDENCE, HAD SPOKEN WARMLY TO HIM ABOUT AMBASSADOR HOFFACKER.

5. AHIDJO STRESSED THAT WE MUST NEITHER UNDERESTIMATE NOR OVERESTIMATE THE SOVIET PRESENCE IN NIGERIA. ACCEPTING SOVIET AID HAD NOT CREATED OUTRIGHT DEPENDENCE BUT A CERTAIN OBLIGATION. AHIDJO FELT STRONGLY THAT THE U.S. IS IN A BETTER POSITION THAN OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES TO HELP EXTRICATE NIGERIA FROM THAT SENSE OF OBLIGATION.

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NOTE: NOT PASSED YAOUNDE BY OC/T

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wH /

Correction issued;
2/22/70, 1 p.m.

Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET

FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8635
BT

5 1 5 3 Q
1970 FEB 22 AM 7 15

S E C R E T MONROVIA 848 - CORRECTED COPY

NODIS SECTO 121

FOR PRESIDENT FROM SECRETARY

SUBJ: GHANA

1. THE COUNTRY YOU HELPED LAUNCH THIRTEEN YEARS AGO IS TODAY, DESPITE SERIOUS PROBLEMS, A DYNAMIC, INDEPENDENT, OUTWARDLY JOYOUS NATION. I WAS AS WARMLY AND CEREMONIOUSLY RECEIVED HERE AS IN ANY STOP IN AFRICA.

2. THE MARK OF NKRUMAH REMAINS, PHYSICALLY, IN GRANDIOSE MUSSOLINI-TYPE MONUMENTS, AND ACTUALLY IN AN ENORMOUS DEBT WHICH PREOCCUPIED BUSIA. THERE IS LITTLE REGRET AT HIS ABSENCE AND CERTAINLY IN OUR BRIEF VISIT THERE WAS NOT THE SLIGHTEST HINT OF ANY REMAINING SUPPORT. GHANA'S NEW DEMOCRACY APPEARS TO BE WORKING; I BELIEVE WE SHOULD DO ALL WE CAN TO HELP IT SUCCEED.

3. OUR PROGRAM BEGAN WITH A BANQUET FOR NEARLY FOUR HUNDRED PEOPLE FROM ALL PARTS OF GHANA. PRIME MINISTER BUSIA SET THE TONE IN A FORMAL TOAST WHICH SALUTED OUR FRIENDSHIP, SPELLED OUT GHANA'S HOPES FOR U.S. ECONOMIC SUPPORT, AND SPOKE OF YOUR ROLE AND MINE IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS AND INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLES.

4. ON SATUCDAY, I MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER WHO CHIDED US FOR OUR APPARENT NEGLECT, UP TO NOW, OF AFRICA AND ASKED US IN FAMILIAR BUT FIRM TERMS TO TAKE MORE VIGOROUS STEPS ON THE RHODESIAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEM. I REPLIED EMPHASIZING THE LIMITATIONS ON OUR ABILITY TO INFLUENCE OTHERS, INCLUDING OUR OWN CITIZENS WHO SEEK TO TRAVEL AND INVEST IN SOUTH AFRICA. INTERESTINGLY, FOREIGN MINISTER'S COMMENTS CAME THE DAY AFTER BUSIA HAD BEEN CHALLENGED IN PARLIAMENT ABOUT REMARKS HE HAD MADE EARLIER CALLING FOR A DIALOGUE WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

5. THE REMAINDER OF THE DAY WAS SPENT IN AN HOUR'S PRIVATE TALK WITH BUSIA AND A CEREMONIAL CALL ON PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION. BUSIA EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER GHANA'S DEBT PROBLEM (MOSTLY WITH OTHER COUNTRIES), COMPLCATIONS OF AID PROCEDURES, LACK OF EXPLOITATION BY KAISER INDUSTRY OF GHANA ALUMINUM RESOURCES, AND LACK OF ACCORD ON A WORLD COCOA AGREEMENT.

6. THE GENERAL TONE OF THE VISIT CAN BEST BE SUMMED UP BY BUSIA'S TOAST AT LUNCH WHEN HE CALLED FOR "BETTER UNDERSTANDING AND SYMPATHY FOR THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD." WESTERFIELD

SECRET

February 23, 1970

Gen. Haig:

I called Colonel Kennedy. He said he would get a copy of the wire and do wrap-up.

Muriel

Department of State TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL

5152Q

RECVD: 22 FEB 70
6:12AM

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

P 220927Z FEB 70
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8634
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 0846

NODIS

SECTO 120

FOR PRESIDENT FROM SECRETARY

1. I HAD WHAT I THINK WAS A CRITICAL MEETING WITH GENERAL GOWON IN NIGERIA. US-NIGERIAN RELATIONS HAVE OBVIOUSLY BEEN STRAINED AS A RESULT OF OUR NEUTRALITY DURING THE CIVIL WAR, AND THE SYMPATHY FOR BIAFRA OF SO MANY AMERICANS AND PRESS MEDIA. THE STRAIN HAS BEEN ADDED TO DURING THE RELIEF PHASE AFTER THE WAR AS OUR EXPERTS HAVE CONTINUED TO PRESS THE NIGERIANS ABOUT SERIOUS STARVATION PROBLEMS. GENERAL GOWON AND HIS ADVISERS TOLD ME THEY BELIEVE THE RELIEF PROBLEM IS UNDER CONTROL AND THEY WANT TO SHIFT INTO A REHABILITATION AND RECONSTRUCTION EMPHASIS BY APRIL.

2. MOST OF THE REACTIONS TO OUR ATTITUDES WERE EXPRESSED TO ME BY ADMIRAL WEY, COL. JOHNSON (GOVERNOR OF LAGOS STATE) AND COMMISSIONER OKUNNO PRIOR TO MY MEETING WITH GEN. GOWON. I BELIEVE IT WAS ORGANIZED THAT WAY. EACH OF THEM STRESSED THE DESIRE OF NIGERIA FOR CLOSE TIES WITH THE US, BUT EACH OF THEM ALSO STRESSED NIGERIAN PUBLIC OPINION HAD BEEN SEVERELY DISAPPOINTED IN OUR ATTITUDES DURING THE WAR--REFUSAL TO LET THEM PURCHASE WEAPONS AND OUR DECLARATION OF "NEUTRALITY". SO THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT CONSIDERABLE DAMAGE HAS OCCURRED IN OUR RELATIONS.

3. ON THE OTHER HAND, I ALSO AM CONFIDENT THEY WANT TO GET OVER THIS DIFFICULTY AS MUCH AS WE DO. THE KEYNOTE TO THIS WAS GEN. GOWON'S STATEMENT AT THE END OF OUR MEETING (TWO HOURS) THAT HE "CHERISHED THE EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH THE US -- THAT NIGERIA HAD ALWAYS TAKEN FOR GRANTED." THE GENERAL ALSO SAID PUBLICLY AT THE CLOSE OF OUR DISCUSSION THAT OUR VISIT "AUGURED" WELL FOR THE FUTURE OF US-FMG RELATIONS. GOWON DID NO MORE THAN ALLUDE TO THE STRAINS, BUT HE DID TALK CONSIDERABLY ABOUT THE PROBLEMS THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS CAUSED BY DISTORTING INFORMATION.

4. GOWON WAS PLEASED WITH YOUR INVITATION AND ACCEPTED IT IN PRINCIPLE NOTING HE HAD BEEN TO THE US ONCE BEFORE. DETAILS CAN BE FOLLOWED UP THROUGH THE EMBASSY WHEN THE TIME COMES. I THINK THE VISIT WOULD BE AN EXCELLENT WAY TO OVERCOME THE STRAINS AND BELIEVE WE SHOULD QUIETLY SEEK TO ASSURE IT COMES ABOUT.

5. NIGERIA WOULD LIKE INCREASED U.S. AID TO HELP THEM RECONSTRUCT. THEY MENTIONED ROADS, BRIDGES, PORT DEVELOPMENT AND PRE-FABRICATED BUILDINGS FOR DISPLACED PERSONS. THEY WOULD LIKE AID ON A "PROGRAM" RATHER THAN "PROJECT" BASIS, WHICH WILL GIVE THEM MORE FLEXIBILITY IN HOW THEY SPEND IT (WITHIN AN OVERALL PROGRAM AGREEABLE TO US. I HOPE WE CAN DO SOMETHING LIKE THIS ON THE BASIS OF SPECIAL POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION, AS IT WOULD ALSO HELP RESTORE OUR POSITION.

6. GOWON AND OTHERS STRESSED THAT THEIR PURCHASE OF SOVIET ARMS ONLY CAME ABOUT BECAUSE THEY COULD NOT BUY FROM THE U.S. OR U.K. AND THAT COMMUNISM WAS FOREIGN TO NIGERIAN POLICY. I BELIEVE THAT THEY WERE SINCERE. I ASSURED THEM OUR POLICY WOULD NOT BE MOTIVATED BY CONCERN ABOUT THEIR INTENTIONS RE COMMUNISM AND THAT WE UNDERSTOOD THEIR PURCHASES.

7. I ASSURED GOWON THAT OUR ONLY INTEREST WAS TO BE HELPFUL AND THAT WE WANTED TO DO SO IN THE WAYS THAT THEY DESIRED. I THINK HE APPRECIATED OUT ATTITUDE AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF OUR FREE PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION, THEY ARE AWARE THAT BIAFRAN PUBLIC INFORMATION ACTIVITIES IN THE US WERE MUCH BETTER THAN THEIR OWN.

8. THERE UNDOUBTEDLY IS A LARGER RELIEF PROBLEM IN THE BIAFRAN-HELD AREAS THAN THEY SEEM TO BELIEVE IN LAGOS, THOUGH PROBABLY NOT AS EXTENSIVE AS SOME AT HOME BELIEVE. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO HELP TO MEET THAT AS BEST WE CAN. HOWEVER, THEY ARE EXTRA-ORDINARILY SENSITIVE ABOUT THEIR SOVEREIGNTY AND THEIR OWN RESPONSIBILITY AND TIRING OF HEARING FOREIGNERS TELLING THEM WHAT TO DO. IF WE PRESS OUR OWN JUDGMENTS ON THEM TOO STRONGLY EITHER THROUGH DIPLOMATIC OR TECHNICAL CHANNELS, IT WILL HAVE LASTING NEGATIVE EFFECTS ON OUR RELATIONS. THE EMBASSY IS CLEAR ON OUR OBJECTIVES AND ON THE STATE OF OUR PUBLIC OPINION, BUT I BELIEVE WE MUST LEAVE THEM MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY AND KEEP OUR PUBLIC IN-VOLVEMENT IN AS LOW KEY AS POSSIBLE.

9. I HAVE JUST RECEIVED PRESS COVERAGE REPORTS FROM LAGOS. THEY WERE STRAIGHTFORWARD AND, IN MOST CASES, FRIENDLY.

WESTERFIELD

BT

#17

CONFIDENTIAL

PP RUEHEX
DE RUEHCR 5143Q 0330437
ZNY CCCCC ZZH
P 220432Z FEB 70
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO WHITE HOUSE
P 220234Z FEB 70 ZFF4
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8632
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 0843

NODIS

SECTO 118

FOR PRESIDENT FROM SECRETARY

1. I HAD A MOST PLEASANT STOP IN THE CAMEROON AND HELD EXTENSIVE CONVERSATIONS WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND PRESIDENT AHIDJO.

2. AHIDJO IN ADDITION TO BEING PRESIDENT OF HIS COUNTRY IS ALSO PRESIDENT THIS YEAR OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (HIS FONMIN ALSO CHAIRS THE OAU COMMITTEE OF FONMINS) AND HIS COUNTRY SERVES AS THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF CENTRAL AFRICAN AND MALAGASY STATES (OCAM).

3. BECAUSE OF AHIDJO'S LEADERSHIP IN THESE REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND HIS OWN SOUND AND CONSERVATIVE LEADERSHIP OF HIS OWN COUNTRY, HE HAS AN EXCELLENT GRASP OF THE NEED FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION AND MULTILATERAL AND MULTIDONOR APPROACHES.

4. IN BOTH THE MEETINGS WITH FONMIN AND PRESIDENT THE CAMEROONIANS EXPRESSED SATISFACTION AT OUR BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS AND OUR REGIONAL APPROACHES, THOUGH WE WERE NUDGED BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT IN THE GROUP OF SO-CALLED AID CONCENTRATION COUNTRIES. THE FONMIN STRESSED FURTHER U.S. CONSIDERATION FOR SUPPORT OF THE OCAM NATIONS.

5. USG WAS ALSO APPLAUDED FOR OUR APPROACHES IN DEVELOPING A DIALOGUE WITH THE RUSSIANS IN THE SALT TALKS, THE CHINESE AT WARSAW AND THE PROGRESS ON NPT.

6. AHIDJO FELT THE RESPONSIBILITY AND MADE HIS CASE PERSUASIVELY AND REASONABLY FOR SOLICITING FURTHER US UNDERSTANDING OF LIBERATION CURRENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. AS WAS THE CASE WITH KAUNDA, AHIDJO FEELS THERE IS MORE CHANCE OF PROGRESS ULTIMATELY OCCURING INSTHE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES, SWEST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

7. AS IN OTHER CASES WHEN THIS SUBJECT HAS ARISEN I DISCUSSED THE LIMITATIONS ON WHAT USG COULD DO. AHIDJO SAID HE APPRECIATED THE US COULD NOT AND SHOULD NOT CONSIDER MILITARY INTERVENTION BUT THAT HE AND OTHER AFRICANS HOPED THAT WE COULD BE MORE FORTHCOMING IN SUPPORT OF UNITED NATIONS JURISDICTION OVER SWA LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE AND USG'S NOT COOPERATING OR RECOGNIZING THE NEW REGIME IN RHODESIA. I, OF COURSE, EXPLAINED OUR CONTINUING DIALOGUE WITH THE PORTUGUESE IN URGING THEM TO BE MORE RESPONSIVE TO SELF DETERMINATION TRENDS IN THEIR AFRICAN TERRITORIES.

8. FOLLOWING MORNING MEETINGS THE PRESIDENT ENTERTAINED MY DELEGATION AND ME AT AN ELABORATE CAMEROONIAN LUNCHEON AT THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE.

9. I BELIEVE AHIDJO AND THE CAMEROONS HAVE A BRIGHT FUTURE IN THE CENTRAL WEST AFRICAN COMMUNITY OF NATIONS AND THAT THE COUNTRY IS A STABILIZING INFLUENCE.

WESTERFIELD

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CONFIDENTIAL NODIS

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W 14

Department of State

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL

Liberia

10

R 161727Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8359
BT

2969Q
1970 JAN 16 PM 3:14

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 0234

NODIS

SUBJ: SEC VISIT AFRICA 16

REF: STATE 006782

IN COURSE DISCUSSION OTHER MATTERS WITH PRESIDENT TUBMAN JAN. 16 I MENTIONED CHANGES IN SECRETARY ROGERS' PLANNED ITINERARY AND LATER GAVE SEC. GRIMES FORMAL NOTE ASKING GOL AGREEMENT TO FORESHORTENING VISIT. WHILE GRIMES HAS NOT HAD TIME SEND WRITTEN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT, TUBMAN IMMEDIATELY RESPONDED THAT GOL HAD NO PROBLEM.

WESTERFIELD

BT

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W 17

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

R 151337Z JAN 70
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8345
BT

2645Q
1970 JAN 15 PM 12:37

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 0198

NODIS

SUBJ: SEC VISIT AFRICA-MONROVIA NO. 15

REF: STATE 005959; MONROVIA 197

1. I AM MOST DISAPPOINTED ABOUT POSSIBILITY MONROVIA PORTION OF VISIT MAY BE REDUCED TO EVENING OF SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, TO 5:30 PM SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 22. UNLESS TIME OF ARRIVAL IS SUBSTANTIALLY EARLIER THAN THE SCHEDULED TIME OF 7:55 PM, THERE WILL NOT REPEAT NOT BE TIME FOR DINNER, WHICH WE BELIEVE WILL BE HOSTED BY PRESIDENT, AND WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE PRECEDED BY CALLS ON GRIMES AND TUBMAN.

2. WHILE LIBERIANS CERTAINLY UNDERSTAND SECRETARY EXTREMELY BUSY MAN, WITH A PARTICULARLY TIGHT SCHEDULE, REDUCTION OF VISIT FROM ORIGINAL SCHEDULE TO LESS THAN 24 HOURS WITH MAJOR PORTION FALLING ON A SUNDAY, WOULD INEVITABLY RESULT CRITICAL SPECULATION, AND BRUISED FEELINGS.

3. IF SCHEDULE CHANGED AS INDICATED IN REFTEL, MOST STRONGLY URGE MONROVIA PORTION BE EXTENDED TO MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, OR AT MINIMUM SCHEDULE ARRIVAL TIME FOR EARLY AFTERNOON SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21.

WESTERFIELD

NOTE: HANDLED AS NODIS PER MR. BROWN S/S 1/15/70

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MemCons

AF:C.R.Moore:
VCS (Drafting Office and Officer)

APPROVED BY VP'S
OFFICE: KENT CRANE:
3/27/69

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

3881

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Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: March 6, 1969

SUBJECT: Call of Vice President Tolbert of Liberia on Vice President Agnew

PARTICIPANTS: Liberia: Vice President William R. Tolbert of Liberia
Ambassador S. Edward Peal of Liberia

United States: Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
Mr. Kent Crane, Office of Vice President
Mr. C. Robert Moore, Deputy Assistant Secretary, AF

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NOTE: Complete distribution made in CMS on 3/27/69.

Vice President William R. Tolbert, who is attending a meeting of the Administrative Council of the Baptist World Alliance of which he is President, paid a brief courtesy call on Vice President Agnew. In expressing his pleasure at being in the United States once again, he stated he was happy for the opportunity that this gave him of extending his best wishes to Vice President Agnew on assuming his high office. He looked forward to a visit to Liberia by the Vice President, and it would give him much pleasure to show him the country personally.

Vice President Agnew thanked him for his remarks and expressed the hope that he would be able to visit Liberia and other countries in Africa.

The two Vice Presidents exchanged observations on the office of the Vice Presidency in their respective countries and on the terms of office. Vice President Tolbert explained that he had been in office over sixteen years, a first term of eight years followed by two terms of four years. Vice President Agnew observed that this record spoke a good deal for the talents he brought to the office.

Vice President Tolbert found occasion to refer to Maryland County in Liberia, where President Tubman comes from. Noting Vice President Agnew's identification with Maryland, he said he hoped he would have the occasion to take him to the Maryland of Liberia and to show him

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the Port at Harper, the development of which was very high on President Tubman's priority list. Vice President Agnew stated that a visit to Maryland area would give him much pleasure.

Vice President Agnew referred to the tragic civil war in Nigeria and asked for Vice President Tolbert's views on developments there. The latter replied that the situation was very discouraging. President Tubman wanted to be of help in bringing about an end to the conflict but so far has had no success. He was calling for a meeting in Monrovia of the OAU Consultative Committee next month. Vice President Agnew expressed the deep humanitarian concern of the Government and people of the United States and our desire to alleviate the suffering.

After further expressions of the deep friendship between the United States and Liberia and President Nixon's very high regard for President Tubman and Vice President Tolbert, the call came to a close on a warm note.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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SECRET 322

PAGE 01 MONROV 06959 191749Z

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 /031 W
045435

P R 191714Z DEC 73
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 484
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

S E C R E T MONROVIA 6959

EXDIS

PARIS FOR SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, LI, IS, ET, SU

SUBJECT: PROPOSED INITIATIVE OF ETHIOPIA/SUDAN/LIBERIA WITH VATICAN ON STATUS OF JERUSALEM

REF: STATE 240821

1. AT 1430 DECEMBER 19 FOREIGN MINISTER ASKED IF I COULD COME TO EXECUTIVE MANSION AT 1500 FOR A PRIVATE AUDIENCE WITH PRESIDENT TOLBERT. PRESIDENT TOLBERT (FOREIGN MINISTER DENNIS PRESENT) SAID THAT IN SPIRIT OF HIS DESIRE THAT USG BE INFORMED OF SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING OUR TWO COUNTRIES, HE WISHED TO INFORM ME OF A JOINT DEMARCHE YESTERDAY BY THE ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR AND SUDANESE REPRESENTATIVE CONCERNING AN INITIATIVE DESIGNED TO CONTRIBUTE TO A FINAL PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HE SAID THAT EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE AND PRESIDENT NUMAYRI DESIRED TO UNDERTAKE A JOINT MISSION TO THE VATICAN TO DISCUSS WITH THE POPE THE QUESTION OF INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JERUSALEM AND A FUTURE REGIME FOR THE CITY. AS A LEADING CHRISTIAN LEADER OF AN AFRICAN STATE, HE HAD BEEN ASKED TO JOIN WITH THEM IN THE MISSION WHICH THEY HOPE COULD TAKE PLACE BEDORE CHRISTMAS.

SECRET

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 MONROV 06959 191749Z

PRESIDENT TOLBERT HAD RESPONDED THAT DUE TO AN EXTREMELY HEAVY SCHEDULE HE COULD NOT JOIN WITH THEM ON SUCH SHORT NOTICE; HOWEVER, IF THEY WISHED TO PROCEED IMMEDIATELY WITH THE MISSION HE WOULD MAKE FOREIGN MINISTER AVAILABLE AS HIS REPRESENTATIVE. ON OTHER HAND, IF DATES LATER ON IN THE YEAR WERE ACCEPTABLE, HE WOULD RECONSIDER HIS PERSONAL PARTICIPATION.

2. I INQUIRED AS TO WHAT RELATIONSHIP THE PROPOSED MISSION WOULD HAVE TO THE MIDDLE EAST CONFERENCE TO CONVENE IN GENEVA ON DECEMBER 21. TOLBERT REPLIED THAT HE HAD ABSOLUTELY NO REPEAT NO IDEA OF WHAT STRATEGY EMPEROR SELASSIE AND PRESIDENT NUMAYRI HAD IN MINE WITH REGARD TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE OR HOW THEIR PROPOSED MISSION RELATED TO IT. I OBSERVED ON A PERSONAL BASIS THAT IT SEEMED TO ME THAT A QUESTION OF STATUS OF JERUSALEM MIGHT BE AMONG LAST ITEMS TO BE CONSIDERED BY THE PARTICIPANTS AT THE CONFERENCE. CERTAINLY THE FIRST ITEM ON THE AGENDA WOULD BE THAT OF DISENGAGEMENT AND REALIGNMENT OF TROOPS FOLLOWED BY OTHER QUESTIONS, SUCH AS ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, EVENTUAL BORDERS, ETC., ETC. IT WOULD APPEAR THAT IT MIGHT BE BETTER AT THIS STAGE TO ALLOW THE PARTICIPANTS DIRECTLY CONCERNED AT THE CONFERENCE TO NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY AND PRIVATELY THESE AND ALLIED QUESTIONS. I INQUIRED WHETHER ANY INDICATION OF ALTERNATE DATES OF THE PROPOSED MISSION TO THE VATICAN HAD BEEN DISCUSSED, TO WHICH TOLBERT REPLIED HE WAS STILL AWAITING FURTHER SUGGESTIONS.

3. PRESIDENT TOLBERT THEN WENT ON TO EXPRESS HIS DEEP CONCERN OVER THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND HIS HOPE THAT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL. HE UNDERLINED THE NECESSITY FOR THE PARTIES CONCERNED TO APPROACH THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GOOD FAITH AND WITH A DESIRE FOR PEACE. IF THESE FACTORS WERE PRESENT PROSPECTS FOR A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME WOULD BE GREATLY ENHANCED. HE REGRETTED THAT SYRIA HAD ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION NOT REPEAT NOT TO PARTICIPATE.

4. UPON DEPARTURE FOREIGN MINISTER DENNIS ASKED THAT I HOLD THIS SUBJECT VERY CLOSE SINCE PRESIDENT TOLBERT WAS NOT INFORMING OTHER COUNTRIES. DENNIS PROMISED TO KEEP ME INFORMED OF SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS.
MANFULL

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W
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R 011109Z JUN 73
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8284

'73 JUN 1 PM 3:06
WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MONROVIA 2919

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: NBA
TAGS: EFIN, LI

SUBJECT: GOL MAY SEEK LOAN FOR WOLOGISI

FOR AF - AMBASSADOR MANFULL

1. CHARLES BILLMXER, BANK OF AMERICA (BOA) AFRICAN REP WHO RESIDENT LONDON, TOLD CHARGE MAY 25 IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE THAT GBL APPARENTLY IS CONSIDERING A

100 MILLION EURO-DOLLAR LOAN TO GET WOLOGISI IRON-ORE PROJECT STARTED. (LISCO PRESIDENT DETWILER'S LAST KNOWN PROJECTION FOR PROJECT'S COST TOTAWED ABOUT $600 MILLION.) BILLMYER, WHO WAS HERE ON ONE OF HIS PERIODIC AFRICAN TRIPS, SAID HE HAD BEEN APPROACHED BY GOL ASSISTANT FINMIN ELLEN SIRLEAF WHO ASKED IF BOA WOULD BE PREPARED TO ASSIST GOL IN ATTEMPTING TO FLOAT SUCH A LOAN. BILLMYER WAS, OF COURSE, UNABLE COMMIT HIS PRINCIPALS, BUT WAS OBVIOUSLY INTERESTED IN THE PROPOSAL.

2. HE ASKED CHARGE WHAT REPUTATION LIBERIA HAD FOR FINANCIAL RESPONSIBLITY. CHARGE REPLIED THAT GOL HAS OVER THE LAST NUMBER OF YEARS RECEIVED HIGH MARKS FROM

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THE IMF FOR FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND IN MEETING ITS INLERNATIONEL FINANNIAL COMMITMENTS.

3. COMMENT: INTERESTING THAT GOL APPROACHED BOA WHICH IS REPRESENTED HERE ONLY ON CORRESPONDENT BASIS WITH CHASE MANHATTAN. THREE OTHER LARGE AMERICAN BANKS HAVE PHYSICAL PRESENCE IN LIBERIA AND ALL PRESUMABLY EQUALLY QUALFIED TO ADVISE: FIRST NATIONAL CITY (BANK OF MONROVIA); CHEMCIAL (BANK OF LIBERIA); AND CHASE. MAY BE THAT GOL CONCLUDED IT WOULD BE BETTER TO SEEK ASSISTANCE OF COMPLETELY "NEUTRAL" BANK WITH NO LOCAL AX TO GRIND IN HELPING TO PUT TOGETHER SUCH A LARGE PIECE OF FINANCING.

4. IF, IN FACT, LOAN FLOATED, WOULD RESULT IN MAJOR INCREASE SIZF GOL EXTERNAL DEBT WHICH NOW STANDS AT AROUND $185 MILLION AND WHOSE SERVIIMG GAQUIRES AWMXST ONE-THIRD OF DOMESTICIREVENUEY. PRFSUMABLY IMF WOULD HAVE TO BE CONSULTED AND WOULD NOT BF ENTHUSIASTIC AT RADICAL ADDITION LIBERIA'S DEBT SERVICE BURDEN WHICH HAD BEEN PROJECTED TO DECLINE SIGNIFICANTLY AFTER MID-70'S. ON OTHER HAND, IF IT REALLY MAKES ECONOMIC SENSE TO PROCEED WITH WOLOGISI AL THIS TIME, DIRECT DEBT SERVICE EFFECT ON GOL WOULD BE ATTENUATED.

5. IF GOL SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING THIS LOAN, WE CAN ONLY SPECULATE WHAT, IF ANYTHING, SUCH AN ACTION ON PART OF GOL MIGHT MEAN TO LISCO'S CONCESSION RIGHTS TO WOLOGISI.R ON THE ONE HAND, GOL COULD BE CONSIDERING WITHDRAWING LISCO'S RIGHTS BECAUSESOF NON-TIMELY FULFILLMENT CERTAIN CONDITIONS. ALTERNATIVELY, MRS. SIRLEAF MAY BE THINKING OF USING GOL AS BORROWER OF FIRST INSTANCE TO RELEND TO OR ACQUIRE EQUITY IN LISCO OR TO GUARANTEE LOAN MADE DIRECTLY TO COMPANY.

6. FINALLY IF GOL DOES PARTICIPATE IN FINANCING NEEDED CAPITAL INVESTMENT FOR WOLOGISI, IT WOULD BE SHARP BREAK WITH PREVIOUS PRACTKCE HERF VIS-A-VIS OTHER CONCESSIONUIRES. WOULD ALSO BE CONTRARY OUR UNDERSTANDING EXISTING LISCO CONCESSION AGREEMENT IN WHICH THE CONCESSIONAIRE (LISCO) UNDERTAKES RESPONSIBLLITY FOR TOTAL FINANCING PROJECT. GAMON

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R 281742Z NOV 72
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6589

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 05832

EXDIS

SUBJECT: NEWSOM- TOLBERT MEETING

TOWARD END OF COVERSATION WITH ASST SECRETARY NEWSOM NOV 28 PRESIDENT TOLBERT EXPRESSED INTEREST IN STATE OF PLANNING FOR PRESIDENT NIXON'S INAUGURATION AND ALLUDED TO POSSIBLE PRESENCE FOREIGN DIGNITARIES. NEWSOM INDICATED OUR FULL AWARENESS OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S DESIRE TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT NIXON, EXPLAINED THAT SCHEDULE FOR PRESIDENT'S ACTIVITIES FOLLOWING INAUGURATION HAS NOT YET BEEN DETERMINED, AND UNDERLINED HOPE THAT A MEETING MAY PROVE POSSIBLE IN 1973. TOLBERT SHOWED FULL APPRECIATION OF THE RESPONSE AND EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH IDEA THAT INAUGURATION, AS ESSENTIALLY A US DOMESTIC EVENT, WOULD NOT BE PROPER OCCASION UNDERTAKE VISIT. GAMON

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R 201225Z OCT 72
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6263

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 5173

EXDIS

SUBJECT: VISIT OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT TO US

REF: MONROVIA 4934

1. DURING CALL ON FONMIN WEEKS OCTOBER 19 I ASKED HIM IF HE HAD ANY LATE INFORMATION ON PRESIDENT'S PLANS TO VISIT UNGA IN BEHALF OAU.

2. WEEKS SAID QTE FOR ALL INTENTS AND PURPOSES UNQTE VISIT NOW OFF. HE EXPLAINED HE HAD RECOMMENDED TO PRESIDENT THAT HE NOT GO MID-NOVEMBER, AS EARLIER PLANNED BECAUSE IT MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO SEE PRESIDENT NIXON ON THAT OCCASION AND BECAUSE VISIT AT THAT TIME MIGHT STEAL BLOOM OFF VISIT TO US LATER ON.

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INFO OCT-01 /026 W

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R 251615Z SEP 72
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6036

S E C R E T MONROVIA 4694

EXDIS

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S PLANS TO VISIT US

1. PRESIDENT TOLBERT TOLD ME AFTERNOON SEPT 25 HE EXPECTS TO BE IN US IN NOVEMBER.

2. HE SAID KING HASSAN HAD ASKED HIM TO REPRESENT OAU DURING UNGA BECAUSE DOMESTIC SITUATION PREVENTED KING LEAVING MOROCCO. HE SAID HE HAD DECIDED TO ACCEDE TO HASSAN'S REQUEST.

3. PRESIDENT SAID HE EXPECTED TO ARRIVE IN NEW YORK AROUND NOVEMBER 10.

4. COMMENT: WHILE HE DID NOT SPECIFICALLY SAY SO, PRESIDENT TOLBERT LEFT ME WITH STRONG IMPRESSION HE WOULD HOPE TO SEE PRESIDENT NIXON DURING HIS NOVEMBER VISIT. (HE EXPLAINED THAT HE COULD NOT GO TO UNGA DURING OCTOBER BECAUSE OF OTHER PRESSING COMMITMENTS; THAT HE EXPECTED TO BE IN ADDIS ABABA FOR EMPEROR'S CORONATION ANNIVERSARY DURING FIRST FEW DAYS OF NOVEMBER; AND THAT HE WOULD FAR PREFER NOT GO TO US BEFORE US ELECTIONS.)

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INFO OCT-01 /026 W
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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5781

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 4161

EXDIS

NOFORN

REF: STATE 151725

1. AS ANTICIPATED, PRESIDENT TOLBERT RAISED WITH ME QUESTION OF VISIT TO US DURING MY CALL ON HIM MORNING OF AUGUST 21.

2. HE PREFACED HIS REMARKS BY SAYING THAT HE WISHED TO BRING UP MATTER OF SOME DELICACY ONLY BECAUSE OF PARTICULARLY CLOSE RELATIONS BETWEEN US AND LIBERIA AND THE CORDIAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN HIMSELF AND PRESIDENT NIXON. IF IT WERE NOT FOR THESE, HE SAID, HE WOULD HESITATE BRING MATTER UP.

3. PRESIDENT THEN SAID HE HAD ON AUGUST 15 RECEIVED OFFICIAL INVITATION TO VISIT UK DURING SECOND HALF OF MARCH. HE WOULD, OF COURSE ACCEPT INVITATION. HOWEVER, HE WOULD BE EXTEMELY RELUCTANT TO PAY OFFICIAL VISIT TO UK UNLESS HE HAD FIRST VISITED US.

4. HIS STRONG DESIRE WAS TO PAY FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT OUTSIDE AFRICA TO US. THIS PRIORITY WOULD BE SOMEHWAT ERODED, HE ADMITTED, BECAUSE OF FACT THAT GREEK GOVERNMENT, LEARNING OF HIS PLANS TO SPEND PART OF HIS SEPTEMBER VACATION IN GREECE, HAD INVITED HIM TO BE GUEST OF GOVERNMENT FOR A FEW DAYS. IN CIRCUMSTANCES HE COULD NOT DECLINE.

5. PRESIDENT EXPLAINED HIS WISH TO GIVE PRIORITY TO US VISIT IN FOLLOWING TERMS: HE WANTED LIBERIAN PEOPLE TO SENSE IMPORTANCE WHICH HE PLACED IN CLOSE US-LIBERIAN RELATIONS AND

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ONE WAY OF DOING THIS WOULD BE TO PLACE US VISIT AT TOP OF HIS LIST. IN ADDITION "THERE ARE THOSE WHO ARE JEALOUS OF US-LIBERIAN RELATIONS" AND HE WISHED TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO AVOID PAYING DEFERENCE TO THAT JEALOUSY.

6. PRESIDENT URGED ME TO RESPECT CONFIDENCE IN WHICH HE HAD INFORMED ME OF INVITATION TO UK AND HIS FIRM WISH TO PLACE US VISIT AHEAD.

7. I EXPRESSED MY OWN APPRECIATION AND THAT OF MY GOVERNMENT FOR THE CONFIDENCE WITH WHICH HE HAD DISCUSSED MATTER. WITHOUT MAKING ANY DIRECT REFERENCE TO IT, I RECALLED WISH EXPRESSED BY PRESIDENT NIXON IN OCTOBER 1971 LETTER AND ADDED THAT SCHEDULING AT THIS TIME WAS AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT MATTER.

8. PRESIDENT SAID HE FULLY UNDERSTOOD BOTH POINTS AND HOPED THAT HIS POSITION WOULD BE UNDERSTOOD.

9. COMMENT: I BELIEVE THAT, FOR TIME BEING, MY SYMPATHETIC AND NON-COMMITTAL RESPONSE MAY TAKE CARE OF MATTER. HOWEVER, I WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF PRESIDENT WERE TO RAISE SUBJECT AGAIN SOMETIME AFTER HIS RETURN FROM VACATION LATE IN SEPTEMBER, ALTHOUGH HE OBVIOUSLY UNDERSTANDS WHY INVITATION CANNOT BE EXTENDED NOW. END COMMENT.

10. OTHER MATTERS DISCUSSED SUBJECT SEPTELS.

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R 201711Z JUN 72
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5261

C O N F ID E N T I A L MONROVIA 3062

EXDIS

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH PRESIDENT TOLBERT AT EXECUTIVE MANSION

REF: STATE 108939

1. AFTER EXPRESSING PRESIDENT NIXON'S THANKS FOR THE CONGRATULATORY TELEGRAM WHICH TOLBERT SENT FOLLOWING THE MOSCOW SUMMIT MEETING, I MADE ORAL PRESENTATION CONTENTS REFTEL TO PRESIDENT TOLBERT ON MORNING JUNE 20TH. TOLBERT WAS PLEASED TO RECEIVE PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT NIXON. HE DECLARED THAT "HISTORY WILL RECORD NIXON AS ONE OF THE GREATEST STATESMEN WHO EVER LIVED. HIS COURAGE, VISION AND FORTHRIGHTNESS MAKE HIM STAND OUT. FUTURE GENERATIONS WILL CONFIRM MY ASSESSMENT OF HIM."

GP-3
WESTERFIELD

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5079

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 2709

EXDIS

FOR P AND EUR FROM CHARGE

SUBJECT: LIBERIAN REACTIONS TO MOSCOW SUMMIT

REF: STATE 906887

1. SUMMATION OF LIBERIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD PRESIDENT NIXON'S TRIP CONTAINED IN TOLBERT'S GENEROUSLY SUPPORTIVE MESSAGE THAT REFLECTS FULL APPRECIATION OF SIGNIFICANCE OF VISIT (MONROVIA 2501). AS USUAL IN SUCH SITUATIONS, LIBERIAN OPINION FOLLOWS PRESIDENT'S PRONOUNCEMENTS WHICH ARE ACCEPTED AS EMBODYING GENERAL CONSENSUS.

2. IMPORTANCE OF PRESIDENT'S TRIP OVERSHADOWED HERE BY MONROVIA MEETING OF OAU CONCILIATION COMMISSION AND PREOCCUPATION WITH EXTENSIVE PREPARATIONS FOR THAT EVENT. NEVERTHELESS, LIBERIA MEDIA GAVE STRAIGHTFORWARD COVERAGE OF ALL EVENTS CONNECTED WITH MOSCOW TRIP. USIS RELEASED TEXT OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S MESSAGE TO PRESS BUT PRESS HAS NOT AS YET PRINTED IT.

3. LACK OF COMMENT OR SIGNIFICANT QUOTES BY OTHER THAN PRESIDENT TOLBERT SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED NEGATIVELY. IT IS NOT UNUSUAL IN LIBERIA FOR PUBLIC REACTION TO MATTERS OF IMPORTANCE TO BE DELAYED.

4. UNIVERSITY OF LIBERIA STUDENTS HAVE TOLD ME THEY BELIEVE PRESIDENT'S TRIP IS IMPORTANT EVENT AND STEP IN DIRECTION OF PEACE.

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P 311847Z MAR 72
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4513

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 1586

EXDIS

FOR AF-NEWSOM

SUBJ: VISIT OF STEPHEN TOLBERT

REF: A. MONROVIA 1559; B. MONROVIA 1585

1. I HAD HOUR'S CONVERSATION WITH TOLBERT AFTERNOON MARCH 31. ON RETURN LIBERIA FROM US HE WILL PROBABLY STOP OVER IN EUROPE TO ACCOMPLISH HIS ORIGINAL INTENTION IN GOING TO US: A FEW DAYS OF COMPLETE REST FROM BREAKNECK PACE HERE.

2. TOLBERT, AS EXPECTED, AGAIN RAISED QUESTIONS OF SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP AND DECLINING AID (REF A). HE SAID HE HAD HOPED FOR MORE HELP FROM US NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF TRADITIONAL TIES BUT MORE PARTICULARLY BECAUSE OF RATIONALITY AND VIGOR HIS BROTHER HAD BROUGHT TO LIBERIA AND CLOSE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP PRESIDENT TOLBERT BELIEVED HE HAD WITH PRESIDENT NIXON. TOLBERTS HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTED THAT INVITATION FOR PRESIDENT TOLBERT VISIT US SOUGHT SINCE OCTOBER 1971 NOT YET FORTHCOMING. STEPHEN REITERATED HIS BROTHER WANTED NO CEREMONY, ONLY OPPORTUNITY FOR SERIOUS TALK.

3. WITH SOME FORCE, I ATTEMPTED ITEM BY ITEM REBUTTAL. I NOTED US GRANT AID FOR LIBERIA HAD NOT DECLINED AND IN FACT INCREASED SOMEWHAT IN LAST TWO YEARS. LARGE UPS AND DOWNS AND OVERALL DECLINE RECENTLY HAVE BEEN DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO LACK OF VIABLE LOAN PROJECTS. LIBERIA'S PAST IMAGE IN US A FACT OF LIFE THAT CANNOT BE OVERCOME IN A DAY. BUT ALL OF US AWARE OF FAVORABLE IMPRESSION MADE IN US BY TOLBERT ADMINISTRATION.

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BOTH AID/W AND USAID/L HAVE BEEN RESPONSIVE AND SYMPATHETIC TO GOL REQUESTS. REFORMS ACHIEVED BY PRESIDENT TOLBERT AND, WITH AID DESIGN HELP, BETTER PROJECT SUBMISSIONS WILL HOPEFULLY REALIZE EVEN GREATER GAINS.

4. I RECALLED THAT MRS. NIXON'S VISIT TO LIBERIA WAS UNPRECEDENTED AND UNDERLINED AGAIN THE FAVORABLE PRESS PLAY LIBERIA RECEIVED BY US INFO MEDIA AT THAT TIME. DURING LAST WEEKS AND MONTHS, HE, STEPHEN HIMSELF, HAD CONSTANTLY COMPLAINED TO ME THAT GOL HAD NEVER DEVELOPED SYSTEM OF PRIORITIES FOR DEVELOPMENT, THAT TREASURY "DIDN'T EVEN KNOW HOW MUCH MONEY GOL HAD," ECT. IF THIS CASE, HOW PRODUCTIVE COULD HAVE MEETING OF TWO PRESIDENTS BEEN? THE DAYS OF THE SHOPPING LIST APPROACH OF "MORE OF EVERYTHING"--IF THEY EVER EXISTED IN WASHINGTON--WERE NOW CERTAINLY OVER. MUCH CAREFUL HOMEWORK REQUIRED BY LIBERIANS BEFORE SUCH A MEETING. I ASSURED STEPHEN THAT HE WOULD FIND USG BUREAUCRACY RECEPTIVE TO FOLLOW-UP AND IMPLEMENT ANY AGREEMENTS OR UNDERSTANDINGS ARRIVED AT. I REITERATED TREMENDOUS AND WELL KNOWN PRESSURES ON PRESIDENT NIXON OVER LAST YEAR AND CONTINUING THROUGH NOVEMBER ELECTION PERIOD.

5. SOMEWHAT TO MY SURPRISE (SINCE STEPHEN RARELY CONCEDES A POINT IN ARGUMENT), HE REFLECTED A MOMENT THEN EXPRESSED GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH THE POINTS I HAD MADE. HE HOPES, HOWEVER, THAT OPPORTUNITY WILL OCCUR WHILE IN WASHINGTON TO OBTAIN HIGH-LEVEL SPECIFIC INDICATION IF AND WHEN ACTUAL INVITATION WILL BE EXTENDED HIS BROTHER. HE DOES NOT PLAN BRING UP ALLEGATIONS CONTAINED IN REF B.

6. STEPHEN UNDERSTANDABLY CONTINUALLY WORRIED OVER LIBERIA'S DEBT SERVICE BURDEN (30 PERCENT OF DOMESTIC REVENUES). ALTHOUGH HE HAS NO SPECIFIC PLAN IN MIND, HE WILL PROBABLY DISCUSS MATTER IN GENERAL TERMS WITH IBRD AND IMF. AS PART OF ONGOING GOL EMPHASIS ON MAXIMUM SELF-HELP EFFORTS, HE WOULD LIKE TO REFINANCE AND/OR RESCHEDULE DEBT SO THAT $10 MILLION OF $20-PLUS MILLION DUE ANNUALLY OVER NEXT FEW YEARS COULD BE APPLIED TO DOMESTIC ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. HE WILL ALSO BE SEEKING MORE HELP FROM BOTH INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES TO DIAGNOSE LIBERIA'S ECONOMIC MALADIES AND PRESCRIBE CURES.

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P 311649Z MAR 72
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4512

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 1585

EXDIS

JOINT STATE/USAID MESSAGE

STATE FOR AF-SMITH/AID FOR AFR-ADAMS

SUBJECT: SECRETARY TREASURY QUESTIONS USG ATTITUDES

REF: MONROVIA 1538

1. AMBASSADOR WESTERFIELD RECEIVED LETTER DATED MARCH 26 FROM SECTREAS TOLBERT EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER REPORT RECEIVED FROM UNIDENTIFIED GOL SENIOR OFFICIAL AFTER VISIT TO WASHINGTON, AS FOLLOWS (UNNECESSARY WORDS OMITTED):

QTE ON FRIDAY MORNING I HAD BRIEF DISCUSSION WITH USAID PEOPLE WHICH WAS VERY DISAPPOINTING. THEY HAD ALREADY SENT TO MONROVIA ON FEBRUARY 28 TELEGRAM OUTLINING THEIR POSITION WHICH IN EFFECT SAYS THAT THEY ARE NOT TOO ANXIOUS HELP LIBERIA, PERIOD. I COULD READ IN BETWEEN LINES AND SEE TWO THINGS CLEARLY: 1. SEVERY DID US A LOT OF HARM; 2. THERE IS STILL WIDESPREAD FEELING IN USAID, WASHINGTON, THAT ONE GROUP OF LIBERIANS ARE BENT ON EXPLOITING ANOTHER GROUP OF LIBERIANS. SUPPOSEDLY INNOCENT STATEMENTS MADE BY USAID/L PERSONNEL AND REPORTS SENT HAVE BEEN TAKEN OUT OF CONTEXT AND USED TO JUSTIFY PERSONAL FEELINGS OVER HERE. I AM OF THE STUDIED OPINION THAT AS LONG AS RICHARD MENDOZA IS RESPONSIBLE FOR LIBERIAN DESK, WE CAN FORGET IT. HE HAS BEEN TALKING TO TOO MANY PEACE CORPS RETURNEES. UNQTE

2. TOLBERT ASKED WHAT IF ANYTHING COULD BE DONE TO CORRECT IMAGE

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AND RESULTING EFFECT ON US-LIBERIAN RELATIONS.

3. AMBASSADOR HAS RESPONDED, MARCH 31, ALONG FOLLOWING LINES: AMBASSADOR SHARES CONCERN, PARTICULARLY WITH INTERPRETATION OF TELEGRAM REFERRED TO. SEARCH OF FILES FAILS TO REVEAL ANY SUCH MESSAGE. HOWEVER, REPORT PROVIDED BY TOLBERT BEING SENT TO WASHINGTON. DURING RECENT VISIT DR. ADAMS NOTED THAT LIBERIA HAD BEEN ONE OF HIGHEST PER CAPITA US AID RECIPIENTS IN WORLD. HE UNDERLINED AID WASHINGTON READINESS CONSIDER FAVORABLY VIABLE LOAN PROPOSALS FOR LIBERIA IN SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNTS AND AID WILLINGNESS PROVIDE HELP IN DESIGNING PROPOSALS. ILLUSTRATIVE OF AID CONTINUING INTEREST ARE RECENT APPROVAL OF $2 MILLION AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT AND READINESS EXAMINE SYMPATHETICALLY POSSIBILITIES OF INCLUDING NEW WORK AT ROBERTSFIELD IN EXISTING ALMOST COMPLETED $4.3 MILLION PROJECT. WHILE ALL CAN AGREE LIBERIAN IMAGE IN US HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN FAVORABLE, AMERICAN OFFICIALS ARE FULLY AWARE OF WHAT HAS BEEN TAKING PLACE IN LIBERIA OVER PAST SEVERAL MONTHS. TOLBERT'S VISIT CAN HOPEFULLY CONTRIBUTE TO GREATER UNDERSTANDING. IN CONCLUSION AMBASSADOR THANKED TOLBERT FOR HIS LETTER AND SAID HIS THOUGHTS ALWAYS WELCOME AND OF VALUE.

4. ALTHOUGH SEVERAL FACTORS MAY HAVE MOTIVATED TOLBERT'S LETTER, IT DOES REFLECT UNCERTAINTIES EXPRESSED IN CERTAIN HIGH LEVELS HERE AS TO USG ATTITUDES TOWARD LIBERIA (REFTEL). THESE DOUBTS WILL MOST LIKELY UNDERLIE CONVERSATIONS TOLBERT WILL HAVE WITH US OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK. WE HOPE STATE AND AID WILL AGREE, HOWEVER, THAT SPECIFIC ALLEGATIONS RAISED IN LETTER WOULD BEST NOT BE RAISED DURING TALKS.
WESTERFIELD

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R 281750Z MAR 72
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4473

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 1504

EXDIS

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT NEXON'S MESSAGE TO CHIEFS OF STATE ON CHINA VISIT

REF: STATE 052041

1. I CALLED ON PRESIDENT TOLBERT AT THE EXECUTIVE MANSION AT 1430 HOURS MARCH 28 AT MY REQUEST TO DELIVER REFERENCED MESSAGE. SECSTATE WEEKS PRESENT.

2. PRESIDENT AND WEEKS LISTENED CAREFULLY TO MESSAGE. AFTERWARDS TOLBERT SAID MESSAGE CONFIRMED HIS OWN OBSERVATIONS OF SIGNIFICANCE NIXON VISIT. HE EXPRESSED GRATITUDE TO PRESIDENT NIXON FOR SENDING PERSONAL MESSAGE.

3. TOLBERT SAID HE BELIEVED POSTERITY WOULD HAIL NIXON CHINA VISIT AS ONE OF GREAT EVENTS IN SEARCH FOR WORLD PEACE. SAID VISIT DEMONSTRATED "THE QUALITY OF MAN PRESIDENT NIXON IS." ASKED ME AGAIN TO CONVEY HIS HIGH REGARD AND DEEP GRATITUDE TO PRESIDENT NIXON FOR HIS PERSONAL MESSAGE.

GP-3
WESTERFIELD

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 096

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
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O 031104Z JAN 72
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3818

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 0009

EXDIS

PASS WHITE HOUSE: TO BE DELIVERED OPENING OF BUSINESS JANUARY 3.

SUBJECT: MRS. NIXON'S VISIT: PRIVATE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT TOLBERT

SUMMARY

1. MRS. NIXON'S 30 MINUTE PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT TOLBERT TOOK PLACE IN A VERY CORDIAL RELAXED ATMOSPHERE MARKED BY FRANK EXCHANGE IN CONTEXT OF OLD FRIENDSHIP. AMBASSADOR WESTERFIELD AND SEC STATE GRIMES PRESENT AT MEETING. END SUMMARY

2. DURING HALF HOUR CALL ON LIBERIAN PRESIDENT IN EXECUTIVE MANSION MRS. NIXON SAID PRESIDENT NIXON VALUED HIS LONG STANDING RELATIONSHIP WITH TOLBERT, POINTING OUT SIMILARITY IN THEIR CAREERS AS BASIS FOR UNDERSTANDING. BOTH ABOUT SAME AGE, BOTH HAD BEEN LEGISLATORS AND VICE PRESIDENTS BEFORE ASSUMING HIGHEST OFFICE IN NATION.

3. MRS. NIXON DELIVERED PRESIDENT NIXON'S PERSONAL LETTER WHICH PRESIDENT TOLBERT RECEIVED WITH APPRECIATION. TOLBERT RE-AFFIRMED HIS FEELING OF CLOSE FRIENDSHIP WITH PRESIDENT NIXON. AS LIBERIA OPENED NEW CHAPTER UNDER TOLBERT ADMINISTRATION LIBERIAN PRESIDENT SAID HE COUNTED UPON USG FRIENDSHIP AND SUPPORT AND THAT HIS COUNTRY STOOD READY TO RECIPROCATE. LIBERIA NEEDS MUCH MORE ASSISTANCE THAN SHE IS GETTING FROM ALL SOURCES. IN TOLBERT'S VIEW ONE REASON LIBERIA DOES NOT RECEIVE AS MUCH AS IT MIGHT IS BECAUSE SOME OUTSIDERS MISTAKENLY BELIEVE US CON-TRIBUTION MUCH LARGER THAN IT IS AND THEREFORE SUFFICIENT.

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4. TOLBERT SAID HE PLACED HIGHEST PRIORITY ON INCREASING STANDARD OF LIVING OF LIBERIAN PEOPLE. ESPOUSING EVOLUTIONARY APPROACH, HE SAID HIS GOAL IS TO DEVELOP MUCH NEEDED LIBERIAN MIDDLE CLASS. AS PUBLIC OFFICER HE HAS DEALT WITH LIBERIAN PEOPLE FOR 19 YEARS AND KNOWS THEM WELL. NOW AS PRESIDENT HE FEELS HE CAN DO SOMETHING TO IMPROVE THEIR CONDITION.

5. TOLBERT SAID HE ANXIOUS TOSEE PRESIDENT NIXON PERSONALLY AT EARLIEST CONVENIENT TIME TO DISCUSS LIBERIA'S PROBLEMS. HE AWARE, HOWEVER, OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S VERY TIGHT SCHEDULE BUT HOPED THAT WHEN PRESSURES EASE MEETING CAN BE ARRANGED. MRS. NIXON LISTENED SYMPATHETICALLY BUT OFFERED NO ENCOURAGEMENT TO POSSIBLE EARLY REALIZATION TOLBERT'S DESIRE FOR MEETING.

6. TURNING TO US PRESIDENT'S UPCOMING TRIP TO PEKING AND MOSCOW, MRS. NIXON SAID HER HUSBAND MAKING THESE JOURNEYS IN INTEREST OF PEACE. PRIORITY HAD TO BE GIVEN TO INCREASING COMMUNICATIONS WITH PRC IF WORLD TENSIONS ARE TO BE REDUCED. USG CANNOT IGNORE REALITY OF COUNTRY WHOSE POPULATION WILL REACH ONE BILLION BY TURN OF CENTURY AND WHICH AT SAME TIME POSSESSES NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IN DEALINGS WITH CHICOMS AND SOVIETS, PRESIDENT DOES NOT INTEND MAKE ANY COMMITMENTS WHICH WOULD JEOPARDIZE INTERESTS OF THIRD COUNTRIES.

7. TOLBERT NOTED LARGE PRC PRESENCE IN NEIGHBORING GUINEA AND SIERRA LEONE. HE SAID HE DOING HIS UTMOST VIA DIPLOMACY TO KEEP BOTH NATIONS STABLE. GRIMES ADDED PRC NOW LARGEST SUPPLIER OF AID TO GUINEA AND HAS TAKEN OVER NUMBER OF ROC PROJECTS IN SIERRA LEONE.

8. TOLBERT THEN ALLUDED TO VARIOUS MESSAGES FROM SEKOU TOURE WHICH GOL HAS BEEN PASSING TO USG. HE SAID BEAVOGUI (GOG MINISTER OF STATED HEADING GUINEAN DELEGATION) HAD CONFIDED TO HIM SEKOU TOURE VERY MUCH CONCERNED RE US/GOG RELATIONS AND WAS DESIROUS REASSURE USG RE SINCERITY GOG INTENTIONS. TOLBERT SAID BEAVOGUI USED WORDS SINCERE SEVERAL TIMES. GEAVOGUI (ACCORDING ALSO TO TOLBERT) SAID SEKOU TOURE ANXIOUS EXPAND US PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN GUINEA.

GP-1.
WESTERFIELD

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O 091123Z DEC 71 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO NAF BERMUDA
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3600
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA

UNCLAS MONROVIA 6115

NAF BERMUDA FOR WILLIAM CODUS MSN 2105

SUBJ: CODUS ADVANCE TEAM VISIT

REF: NAF BERMUDA 1571 090011Z DEC 71

1. UNDERSTAND FROM REFTEL CODUS TEAM ARRIVAL LIBERIA DELAYED UNTIL 0830Z DECEMBER 10.

2. FOLLOWING SCHEDULE NOW ARRANGED:
(A) DCM GAMON AND OTHER MISSION OFFICERS WILL MEET AND ESCORT EITHER TO DUCOR HOTEL (WHERE RESERVATIONS MADE) OR TO EMBASSY AT TEAM'S OPTION.
(B) INITIAL BRIEFING WITH KEY MISSION PERSONNEL AT EMBASSY CONFERENCE ROOM, 11:30.
(C) LUNCH FOR CODUS AND TWO OTHER TEAM MEMBERS WITH AMBASSADOR WESTERFIELD AT RESIDENCE
(D) PRELIMINARY CONTACT WITH LIBERIAN COUNTERPARTS AFTERNOON DECEMBER 10.

3. COURTESY CALL ON PRESIDENT TOLBERT REQUESTED IN BEHALF CODUS WITH PREFERENCE GIVEN FOR MORNING DECEMBER 11 AND SECOND CHOICE AFTERNOON DECEMBER 10.

4. PLEASE COMMENT IF ABOVE NOT SATISFACTORY.
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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 /026 W
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O R 291337Z SEP 71
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO AMEMBASSY GENEVA IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 3090

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 4853

EXDIS

FOR AMBASSADOR WESTERFIELD

SUBJECT: PHILLIPS-RUSHING CONVERSATION RE LIBERIAN AVIATION

REF: A. STATE 178364
B. GENEVA 4189

1. REF A FIRST INDICATION WE HAVE HAD THAT LOY TO CALL ON PRESIDENT TOLBERT. APPARENTLY PANAM NO LONGER RELUCTANT TAKE INITIATIVE IN DISCUSSING ITS INTEREST IN BUILDING UP LIBERIAN AVIATION.

2. IN THIS CONNECTION YOU MAY WISH PASS ON TO STEVE TOLBERT SUBSTANCE PHILLIPS-RUSHING CONVERSATIONS OF SEPT 18 AND 29.

3. YOU WILL RECALL FOLLOWING MAIN POINTS OF FIRST CONVERSATION:
A. STILL CONFUSION AND UNCERTAINTY IN VARIOUS EXPRESSIONS GOL GOALS AND PRIORITIES (E.G., WHAT NEEDED FIRST? NEW PLANE TO GET PRESIDENT AROUND INSIDE LIBERIA OR EARLY CAPABILITY WHICH WOULD OFFER HIM PRESTIGE TRANSPORTATION FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITS?).
B. NEED FOR COMPLETE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDY BEFORE GOL MAKES DECISIONS RE AIRCRAFT PROCUREMENT AND NEW ROUTE STRUCTURES.
C. INSTEAD OF DRAWING EXCLUSIVELY ON INTERNAL RESOURCES FOR STUDY, GOL SHOULD CONSIDER INVITING MANAGEMENT PROPOSALS OF A RECONSTITUTED LIBERIAN AIRLINE TO INTERNATIONAL CARRIERS NOW OPERATING HERE. BECAUSE FLEET OF AIRCRAFT AT THEIR DISPOSAL, SUCH CARRIERS MIGHT BE ABLE INCLUDE AS PART OF

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PACKAGE PROVISION ON INTERIM, PERIODIC BASIS AIRCRAFT FOR PRESIDENT'S USE.
D. ICELANDIC AIRLINES, MSA AND THAI INTERNATIONAL CITED AS EXAMPLES OF AIRLINES WHOSE SUCCESS AT LEAST PARTIALLY ATTIRBUTABLE TO THEIR NON RPT NON MEMBERSHIP IN IATA.
E. PHILLIPS APPEARED IN GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH ABOVE SUGGESTIONS AND SPECIFICALLY SAID HE WOULD RECOMMEND, PRESUMABLY TO PRESIDENT, THAT INTERNATIONAL CARRIERS BE ASKED TO SUBMIT MANAGEMENT PROPOSALS.

4. IN SEPT 30 TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH PHILLIPS, RUSHING SAID WE HAD RECEIVED SOME INDICATION THAT LOY MIGHT BE TALKING WITH PRESIDENT TOLBERT ABOUT PANAM ASSISTANCE IN LIBERIAN AVIATION AND ASKED WHETHER PHILLIPS WOULD FIND A SUMMARY OF SEPT 18 CONVERSATION HELPFUL. PHILLIPS IN EFFECT DEMURRED AND SAID HE HAD NOT YET BEEN INVITED TO NOR KNEW NOTHING ABOUT A POSSIBLE CALL BY LOY ON TOLBERT. PHILLIPS RECALLED ABOVE SUGGESTION THAT INTERNATIONAL CARRIERS BE INVITED TO SUBMIT MANAGEMENT PROPOSALS AND SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED THIS (WITH PRESIDENT PRESUMABLY) BUT THAT NO SUCH INVITATIONS HAD BEEN EXTENDED.

5. BASED ON YOUR CONTINUING CONVERSATIONS WITH STEVE YOU MAY WISH TO WEIGH THIS WHOLE MATTER TO DETERMINE WHAT MORE, IF ANYTHING, WE CAN DO HERE NOW. OUR IMPRESSION IS PHILLIPS EITHER DOES NOT WANT TO, OR NOT IN POSITION TO, PLAY ACTIVE ROLE THIS STAGE.
GP-3.
GAMON

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ACTION SS-25

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R 231159Z SEP 71
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3038
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA

S E C R E T MONROVIA 4738

EXDIS

REF: MONROVIA 4700

FIRST WORD OF PARA 4 REFTEL SHOULD HAVE READ "GBEDEMAH" NOT BUSIA. GP-3.
WESTERFIELD

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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INFO OCT-01 /026 W

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R 271703Z AUG 71
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2772

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 4238

EXDIS

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO CHINA

DURING EXCHANGE WITH SECSTATE GRIMES AT DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION AUGUST 25, HE EXPRESSED CONFIDENT VIEW THAT PRESIDENT NIXON WOULD MAKE CHINA VISIT BEFORE END OF 1971. IN EXPLANATION, GRIMES REFERRED TO STRENUOUS REQUIREMENTS OF 1972 ELECTIONS WHICH WOULD LEAVE PRESIDENT LITTLE TIME FOR OTHER MATTERS.
GP-3.
WESTERFIELD

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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS PROJECT

DOCUMENT CONTROL RECORD

ITEM REMOVED FROM THIS FILE FOLDER

A RESTRICTED DOCUMENT OR CASE FILE HAS BEEN REMOVED FROM THIS FILE FOLDER. FOR A DESCRIPTION OF THE ITEM REMOVED AND THE REASON FOR ITS REMOVAL, CONSULT DOCUMENT ENTRY NUMBER 69 ON EITHER THE DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD (GSA FORM 7279 OR NA FORM 1421) OR NARA WITHDRAWAL SHEET (GSA FORM 7122) LOCATED IN THE FRONT OF THIS FILE FOLDER.

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Department of State TELEGRAM

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Z 261207Z JUL 71
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 2487

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 3596

EXDIS

SUBJECT: SHIP VISIT

REF: MONROVIA 3595

1. I NEED CONFIRMATION WITHIN THE HOUR IF AT ALL POSSIBLE THAT THERE WILL BE NO PROBLEM IN COMPLYING WITH PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S REQUEST THAT NOA AND POWER MAKE ABBREVIATED VISIT ARRIVING AS SCHEDULED AND PERMITTING PARTY OF PERHAPS 200 MEMBERS OF SHIPS' COMPANIES TO RENDER APPROPRIATE HONORS AT PRESIDENTIAL BIER, PROBABLY WEDNESDAY MORNING. THIS IS PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S FIRST MAJOR REQUEST TO USG AND I DO NOT WISH TO GO AHEAD WITH ARRANGEMENTS HERE WITHOUT ABSOLUTE ASSURANCES WE SHALL COME THROUGH. GP-1.
WESTERFIELD

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
'71 JUL 26 AM 11:47
WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /046 W

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O 261152Z JUL 71
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2486

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 3595

EXDIS

SUBJECT: SHIP VISIT

REF: MONROVIA 3590

STEVE TOLBERT CAME TO SEE ME BEFORE BREAKFAST JULY 26. FIRST POINT HE RAISED WAS SHIP VISIT. HE GAVE PRESIDENT TOBLERT'S POSITION AS REPORTED REFTEL BUT TOLD ME IN STRICT CONFIDENCE THAT DECISION MADE BY PRESIDENT AFTER CABINET DISCUSSION IN WHICH MAJORITY OF ONE, INCLUDING SECSTATE GRIMES AND POSTMASTER GENERAL DESHIELD, HAD OPPOSED SHIP VISIT. GP-1.
WESTERFIELD

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
'71 JUL 29 AM 11:48

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INFO OCT-01 /046 W

R 141246Z JUL 71
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2394
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA

S E C R E T MONROVIA 3384

EXDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY NEWSOM

SUBJECT: K.A. GBEDEMAH'S POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

1. A FORTUITOUS RESTAURANT MEETING JULY 12TH WITH LIBERIAN SECRETARY OF EDUCATION G. FLAMMA SHERMAN AND FORMER FINANCE MINISTER OF GHANA K.A. GBEDEMAH LED TO A REQUEST BY THEM FOR AN OPPORTUNITY TO SEE ME PRIVATELY. I HAD MET GBEDEMAH IN THE EARLY 60'S AND HAD LUNCH WITH HIM AT USG STATE DEPARTMENT IN 1966. HOWEVER, I DO NOT KNOW HIM WELL AND HAVE HAD NO CONTACT WITH HIM SINCE THEM.

2. GBEDEMAH WAS IN MONROVIA TO SEEK AN AUDIENCE WITH PRESIDENT TUBMAN. IN TUBMAN'S ABSENCE, HE TALKED WITH SECSTATE GRIMES. GBEDEMAH IS SEEKING FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR HIS PRESS OPERATION IN GHANA. HE INFORMED ME THAT HE HAS ALREADY INVESTED 40,000 POUNDS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT AND NEEDS ANOTHER 50-60 THOUSAND DOLLARS TO COMPLETE THE CONSTRUCTION. THE PRESS WILL PRODUCE GENERAL PUBLICATIONS UNTIL THE PROPITIOUS MOMENT ARRIVES FOR IT TO BE UTILIZED AS A POLITICAL INSTRUMENT. APPARENTLY GBEDEMAH HAS A GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH PRESIDENT TUBMAN AND HAD SOME EXPECTATION THAT HELP WOULD BE FORTHCOMING.

3. GBEDEMAH EXPRESSED COMPLETE CONFIDENCE IN SECRETARY SHERMAN AND TOLD ME THAT SHERMAN WAS FULLY FAMILIAR WITH THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF GHANA, HAVING SERVED AS LIBERIAN AMBASSADOR TO GHANA FOR SOME TEN YEARS. SECRETARY SHERMAN INFORMED ME PRIVATLEY THAT HE WOULD NOT EXPECT PRESIDENT TUBMAN TO GET INVOLVED IN THE "INTERNAL AFFAIRS" OF GHANA BUT WAS SURE TUBMAN WOULD BE GENERALLY SYMPATHETIC

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PAGE 02 MONROV 03384 141412Z

TO GBEDEMAH.

4. GBEDEMAH ASKED ME TO REPORT TO USG HIS CONCERN ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN GHANA AND TO INQUIRE IF USG COULD PROVIDE THE 50-60 THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR THE PRESS PROJECT. HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT REQUIRED FINANCES COULD BE CHANNELED THROUGH LIBERIAN FRIENDS. GBEDEMAH NOTED THAT HE HAD BEEN POLITICALLY INACTIVE FOR THE PAST THREE YEARS BUT FELT GHANA HAD DECLINED SO MUCH THAT IT WAS HIS RESPONSIBILITY TO SEEK POLITICAL LEADERSHIP TO BRING HIS COUNTRY OUT OF CHAOS. GBEDEMAH PREDICTED A BREAKDOWN IN LAW AND ORDER WITHIN ONE YEAR AT MOST. HE SUGGESTED THAT BUSIA MAY BE REMOVED AS EARLY AS JANUARY 1ST. GBEDEMAH ALLEGED THAT BUSIA HAD ALIENATED MANY BY THE REMOVAL OF MORE THAN 500 PERSONS FROM THE OFFICIAL GHANAIAN CIVIL SERVICE. HE ALSO NOTED THE GREAT INCREASE IN THE COST OF LIVING AND THE DETERIORATION OF GHANA'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE. MOREOVER, GBEDEMAH FELT THE REPATRIATION POLICY OF BUSIA HAD BEEN A DISASTER. HE CLAIMED THAT BUSIA HAD NOT BROUGHT THE COUNTRY TOGETHER AND HAS MADE THE SAME MISTAKES AS NKRUMAH. GBEDEMAH SAID HE AND BUSIA HAD MADE A PACT IN ZURICH IN 1962 TO COOPERATE IN BRINGING NEW LEADERSHIP TO GHANA. GBEDEMAH BELIEVED IN BUSIA'S INTERGRITY UNTIL NOVEMBER 1968, AT WHICH TIME HE APPARENTLY LOST FAITH. GBEDEMAH ADMITTED THE POSSIBILITY OF NKRUMAH'S RETURN TO POWER BUT CONCLUDED THIS WOULD ALSO BE DISASTROUS BECAUSE NKRUMAH WOULD HAVE TO CRUSH THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP. IT WAS CLEAR THAT GBEDEMAH FEELS HE IS THE ONLY ONE CAPABLE OF RESOLVING GHANA'S MYRIAD PROBLEMS.

5. FLAMMA SHERMAN COMMENTED ARTICLE 71 OF GHANA CONSTITUTION WAS SPECIFICALLY FORMULATED TO PRECLUDE POLITICAL ACTIVITY BY GBEDEMAH. GBEDEMAH TOLD ME THE FIVE-YEAR POLITICAL BAN AGAINST HIM HAS ONLY TWO YEARS TO GO. GBEDEMAH SAID BUSIA "NOT MASTER IN HIS OWN HOUSE" BUT WAS HEAVILY INFLUENCED BY MEN LIKE AMPONSAH AND COLONEL AFRIFA.

6. GBEDEMAH DECLARED IF HE ACHIEVED POWER HE WOULD ESTABLISH A NATIONAL FRONT AND CALL UPON MEN LIKE QUAISON-SACKEY, ROBERT GARDINER (ECA), DAN CHAPMAN AND YAW-ADU (FORMER DEPUTY GENERAL COMMONWELATH SECRETARIAT) FOR ADVICE AND GUIDANCE. IN COMMENTING ON THE KIND OF POLICY HE WOULD ATTEMPT TO IMPLEMENT, GBEDEMAH STATED HE WOULD SUBSIDIZE FOOD PRODUCTION AND INSTITUTE A NEW MONETARY POLICY. GBEDEMAH FELT BUSIA SHOULD HAVE SOLICITED SUPPORT OF U.K., FRANCE, WEST GERMANY AND U.S. FOR A NEW CURRENCY WHICH WOULD HAVE FULL CONVERTIBILITY AND COMPLETE INTERNATIONAL ACCEPT-

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ABILITY. HE DECLARED A "GUARANTEE OF THE CEDI" BY THESE WESTERN POWERS WOULD HAVE PROVIDED THE NECESSARY MONETARY STABILITY FOR GHANA.

7. GBEDEMAH EXPRESSED GREAT ADMIRATION FOR FORMER AMBASSADOR THOMAS MCELHINEY. ACCORDING TO GBEDEMAH, HE HAD NOT SOUGHT CONTACT WITH AMBASSADOR MCELHINEY BECAUSE IT WOULD HAVE BEEN AWKWARD FOR THEM BOTH. HOWEVER, HE SAID AMBASSADOR MCELHINEY HAD INVITED HIM FOR A PRIVATE DINNER BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON AND SAID "YOUR TIME MAY YET COME." I ASSUME GBEDEMAH WILL ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH AMBASSADOR HADSEL WHOM I DESCRIBED AS A FORMER COLLEAGUE OF OUTSTANDING ABILITY.

8. COMMENT: GBEDEMAH CLEARLY HAS SIGHTS SET ON TOP POSITION IN GHANA AND IS EXPLORING ALL ALTERNATIVES FOR POSSIBLE SUPPORT. I GAVE HIM NO ENCOURAGEMENT BUT SIMPLY AGREED TO REPORT HIS VIEWS TO USG. WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE ON MY ROLE SHOULD GBEDEMAH AND SHERMAN CONTACT ME LATER. GP-3.
WESTERFIELD

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'71 JUN 21 PM 9:17

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

SECRET 792

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ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 W
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R 121744Z JUN 71
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2217

S E C R E T MONROVIA 2998

EXDIS

SUBJECT: SUCCESSION QUESTION

FOR FIRST TIME EVEN IN INTIMATE CONVERSATIONS, VICE-PRESIDENT TOLBERT ALLUDED JUNE 18 TO HIS EXPECTATION OF SUCCEEDING TO THE PRESIDENCY. WHEN I THANKED HIM FOR "BEING A GOOD FRIEND" WITH HIS COURTESIES TO MAYOR AND MRS. WASHINGTON AND TO ME DURING MY LIBERIAN TENURE, HE REPLIED "I INTEND TO BE AN EVEN BETTER FRIEND IN THE YEARS AHEAD." GP-2.
WESTERFIELD

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
JUN 1 AM 10:33 '71

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PAGE 01 MONROV 02585 010941Z

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INFO OCT-01 /046 W

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R 010925Z JUN 71
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2027

S E C R E T MONROVIA 2585

EXDIS

SUBJ: BRIEFING FOR FOREIGN MINISTER EBAN'S VISIT

REF: STATE 092040

1. I BRIEFED GRIMES MAY 29 ALONG LINES PARAGRAPH 2 REFTEL DRAWING ON STATE 88478 AND LEFT AIDE MEMOIRE.

2. GRIMES SAID HE PLANNING DISCUSS EBAN VISIT WITH PRESIDENT AT TOTOTA FARM OVER WEEKEND.

3. EBAN DUE HERE JUNE 4 FOR TWO DAY VISIT.
GP-3
WESTERFIELD

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WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

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O P 292012Z APR 71 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1781
INFO AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE

S E C R E T MONROVIA 1955

EXDIS

REF: MONROVIA 1943

1. SHORTLY BEFORE DEPARTING FOR AIRPORT TO TAKE PLANE TO NEW YORK ENROUTE TO HAITI, AMBASSADOR ERNEST REMY IN GREAT AGITATION ASKED USIS OFFICER FOR NAME OF USG CONTACT IN NEW YORK. DCM, WHO HAS HAD FAIRLY CLOSE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH REMY OVER PAST TWO YEARS SUBSEQUENTLY CALLED ON HIM TO SAY GOODBYE AND HEAR HIS STORY.

2. REMY, WHO HAD REFLECTED TO PUBLIC HIS DELIGHT AT PROSPECT OF PROMOTION TO NO. 2 SPOT IN HAITIAN FONMIN, WAS LITERALLY SHAKING WITH FEAR. HE HAD RECEIVED TWO OFFICIAL TELEGRAMS INSTRUCTING HIM TO RETURN TO PORT-AU-PRINCE ON URGENT BASIS TO ASSUME NEW DUTIES. HE HAD BEEN PROGRESSIVELY WORRIED BY ABSENCE OF ANY COMMUNICATION FROM HIS BROTHERS, WHO IN PAST HAD ALWAYS SENT HIM CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES WHEN HE RECEIVED PROMOTIONS. HE GAVE NO OTHER OBJECTIVE REASON FOR FEARING TO RETURN TO HAITI BUT SAID HE WOULD NOT LEAVE NEW YORK UNTIL HE HEARD FROM HIS FAMILY THAT THEY WERE IN NO DIFFICULTY AND THAT ALL WOULD BE WELL WITH HIM. PARTICULAR CONCERN WAS FOR BROTHER MAJOR RAOUL REMY OF HAITIAN MILITARY. REMY REITERATED STRONG PLEA FOR USG CONTACT WHO WOULD HELP HIM OBTAIN NEWS.

4. REMY DID NOT KNOW WHERE HE WOULD BE STAYING IN NEW YORK AND HOPED HE WOULD BE DISCREETLY MET BY APPROPRIATE USG REPRESENTATIVE ON ARRIVAL AT KENNEDY. HE IS TRAVELING VIA PANAM 185 SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE AT KENNEDY AT 4:30 A.M. APRIL 30, ACCOMPANIED BY WIFE AND CHILDREN. GP-1. WESTERFIELD

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---------- 123453

O R 091312Z APR 71 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1637
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY
AMEMBASSY DAKAR

S E C R E T MONROVIA 1611

EXDIS

SUBJ: THREATS AGAINST US REPRESENTATIVES IN GUINEA

REF: STATE 059478, PARA ONE.

1. I GAVE GRIMES LITERAL RENDITION SUBPARAGRAPHS A THROUGH D.

2. GRIMES EXHIBITED GREAT CONCERN AND STATED NO SUCH PLANS OR ACT AGAINST AMERICANS HAD COME TO HIS ATTENTION. HE HAD IN PAST

HEARD FROM SDIERJO SOURCES VIEW THAT GOG WOULD COLLAPSE WITHOUT US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, BUT HAD NOT KNOWN WHETHER THIS WAS VIEW OF WESTERN ALPYES, GUINEAN DISSIDENTS, OR OF INDIVIDUALS.

3. GRIMES SAID HE WOULD RELAY MY REPRESENTATIONS TO PRESIDENT

TUBMAN IN CAPE PALMAS IMMEDIATELY FOR HIS REACTION AND ASSURED ME GOL WILL DO ALL IT CAN TO DEVELOP RELEVANT INFORMATION. GP-1.
WESTERFIELD

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EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 612

PAGE 01 MONROV 01610 091411Z

42
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 W

R 091313Z APR 71
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1638
INFO AMEMBASSY CONAKRY
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY DAKAR

S E C R E T MONROVIA 1610

EXDIS

REF: CONAKRY 796

1. RE PARAGRAPH 2 REFTEL, DIANE DOES NOT SCOFF AT GOG SECURITY SERVICES. ON CONTRARY, HIS REACTION TO PENETRATION QUESTION WAS EXPRESSION OF CONFIDENCE (WHICH WE DID NOT ATTEMPT TO EVALUATE) IN INTEGRITY OF GROUP DESCRIBED. GP-1.
WESTERFIELD

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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS PROJECT

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SECRET 172

2

PAGE 01 MONROV 01460 050936Z

19
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 W

083523

R 021252Z APR 71
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1572

S E C R E T MONROVIA 1460

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT: PARA 3.)

1. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH SECSTATE GRIMES APRIL 1, I INQUIRED ABOUT REPORT THAT PRESIDENT TUBMAN HAD PURCHASED A NEW YACHT. I EXPRESSED FRIENDLY CONCERN RECOGNIZING THE PROBABLE CRITICISM WHICH WOULD BE RAISED IN U.S. AT TIME WHEN USG AND GOL ARE ENGAGED IN EFFORT TO OPEN JFK WHICH PRESENTLY WILL REQUIRE SIGNIFICANT BUDGETARY SUPPORT. I ALSO MENTIONED PRESIDENT TUBMAN'S REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE. I EMPHASIZED MY COMMENTS WERE ON A COMPLETELY UNOFFICIAL BASIS AS A CONCERNED FRIEND WHO WANTED TO ASSIST GOL IN ESTABLISHING PROPER PRIORITIES.

2. I MADE IT CLEAR GOL WAS PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE TO CRITICISM IF RUMOR CORRECT THAT COST OF YACHT WAS SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS AND EXPECTED ANNUAL OPERATING COSTS WERE TO BE SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS. I MADE REFERENCE TO GOL DISPLEASURE WITH TUESDAY NBC TELEVISION SHOW AND SUGGESTED YACHT PURCHASE TENDED TO REINFORCE NEGATIVE IMAGE OF LIBERIA HELD IN SOME U.S. CIRCLES. I SOLICITED GRIMES' PRESENTATION OF THE RATIONALE BEHIND DECISION TO PURCHASE SHIP.

3. GRIMES' IMMEDIATE REACTION WAS VERY FAVORABLE. HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION THAT I WOULD RAISE THIS MATTER IN AN INFORMAL WAY. HE SAID THAT GOL ANTICIPATED CRITICAL USG REACTION TO ACQUISITION OF YACHT. GRIMES HAD NO DETAILS OF TRANSACTION (SECRETARY OF TREASURY WEEKS NEGOTIATED PURCHASE) BUT WENT ON TO MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS: (A) THE PRESIDENT HATES TO FLY AND NEEDS TO MAKE TRIPS TO COASTAL COUNTRIESAS WELL AS NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. TUBMAN TRAVELLED AS FAR AS LAGOS ON THE LAST YACHT. SEKOU TOURE

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EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

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SECRET

PAGE 02 MONROV 01460 050936Z

PROMISED MORE THAN THREE MONTHS AGO TO VISIT MONROVIA FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH TUBMAN BUT HAD NOT DONE SO. IF TUBMAN HAD YACHT, GRIMES CONFIDENT THAT HE WOULD HAVE VISITED CONAKRY AND PERHAPS FREETOWN. (IMPLICIT IN HIS COMMENT WAS POSSIBILITY THAT GUINEA/SIERRA LEONE AFFAIR MAY HAVE BEEN FORESTALLED IF TOURE/TUBMAN DISCUSSIONS HAD TAKEN PLACE.) (B) GRIMES' OWN SERIOUS VIEW AND THAT OF OTHER GOL AUTHORITIES IS THAT YACHT A NECESSITY RATHER THAN LUXURY. YACHT WAS BEING ACQUIRED FOR THE LIBERIAN CHIEF OF STATE RATHER THAN TUBMAN SPECIFICALLY. SHIP PROVIDES PRESIDENT'S ONLY REAL RELAXATION. OTHERWISE, HE IS CONSTANTLY SURROUNDED BY PEOPLE AT EXECUTIVE MANSION, CAPE PALMAS AND IN EUROPEAN CAPITALS AS WELL. YACHT WOULD ENABLE PRESIDENT TO GET AWAY FOR "NECESSARY RECHARGING OF HIS BATTERIES." (C) GOL HAS HELD INSURANCE FUNDS IN ESCROW FOR SEVERAL YEARS SINCE PREVIOUS YACHT WAS WRECKED. GOL LEGISLATURE INSISTED THAT NEW YACHT BE ACQUIRED BUT PRESIDENT RESISTED THIS DECISION BECAUSE "A NEW CHIEF OF STATE MAY NOT BE A SEAMAN". GRIMES FELT THIS VIEW REFLECTION OF TUBMAN'S EARLIER INDECISION WITH RESPECT TO STANDING FOR ANOTHER TERM.

4. GRIMES STATED THAT REASONABLE MEN WOULD DIFFER ON PRIORITIES WITH RESPECT TO EXPENDITURE OF FUNDS. SOME WOULD ARGUE THAT MONEY SPENT ON YACHT COULD BE BETTER UTILIZED FOR SCHOOLS, ROADS, AND MEDICAL CARE. HOWEVER, GOL CONCLUDED THAT YACHT ACQUISITION WAS AMONG ITS HIGHEST PRIORITIES.

5. IN FURTHER COMMENTS, GRIMES OBSERVED THAT SIMILAR CRITICISM WAS REAISED AGAINST THE CONSTRUCTION OF EXECUTIVE MANSION. GOL AND LIBERIAN CITIZENS WERE EMBARRASSED BECAUSE UNTIL THEN THERE WAS NO ADEQUATE MEETING PLACE FOR VISITING CHIEFS OF STATE. IN PREVIOUS PRESIDENTIAL RESIDENCE (NOW STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICE), TUBMAN OFTEN HAD PRIVATE MEALS WITH VISITING CHIEFS OF STATE IN HIS BEDROOM. BEFORE EXECUTIVE MANSION WAS BUILT, TUBMAN WAS NOT ABLE TO ACCOMMODATE HIS PERSONAL STAFF AND OTHER AGENCY OFFICES SUCH AS BUDGET BUREAU. AFTER CONSTRUCTION OF EXECUTIVE MANSION, ADEQUATE SPACE HAD BEEN PROVIDED FOR PERSONAL STAFF AND OTHER AGENCY PERSONNEL. EMPLOYEES WHO WERE FORMERLY SCATTERED OVER THE CITY IN RENTED BUILDINGS WERE NOW CONSOLIDATED UNDER ONE ROOF WITH CONSEQUENT "SAVING" OF RENTAL PAYMENTS.

6. SECRETARY GRIMES ASSERTED THAT LIBERIANS TAKE SAME PRIDE IN EXECUTIVE MANSION WHICH THE BRITISH PEOPLE HAVE IN BUCKINGHAM PALACE AND AMERICANS IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

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EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 03 MONROV 01460 050936Z

7. COMMENT: GRIMES ACCEPTED MY COMMENTS IN VERY GOOD GRACE. I FELT IT IMPORTANT TO HAVE THIS DIALOGUE SO THAT GRIMES WILL NOT BE SURPRISED SHOULD USG RAISE HARD QUESTIONS AROUND PRIORITIES SET BY GOL. GP-3.
WESTERFIELD

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 840

PAGE 01 MONROV 01214 161547Z

50
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 W
---------- 021758

P 161507Z MAR 70
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8812

S E C R E T MONROVIA 1214

E X D I S

REF: MONROVIA 1213

SUBJ: TUBMAN ON TENURE

IN COURSE OF HEAD-TO-HEAD CONVERSATION WITH USMILMISH CHIEF COL. BARLOW ON OTHER SUBJECTS MAR 16, PRESIDENT TUBMAN SAID HE WAS "GETTING TIRED" AND "WANTED TO QUIT" BUT THAT THERE WERE "ALL THESE THINGS" SUCH AS MIL REORGANIZATION THAT HE WANTED TO GET STRAIGHTENED OUT BEFORE STEPPING DOWN.
WESTERFIELD

'70 MAR 16 PM 5:05
WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

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EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 863

PAGE 01 MONROV 01213 161600Z

2

52
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 W

---------- 021807

'70 MAR 16 PM 5:05

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

P 161507Z MAR 70
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8811

S E C R E T MONROVIA 1213

EXDIS

SUBJ: LIBERIAN ARMED FORCES REORGANIZATION.

1. USMILMISH CHIEF COL. BARLOW HAD EXTREMELY PRODUCTIVE 50 MINUTE CONVERSATION WITH PRES TUBMAN MORNING MAR 16. TUBMAN FOCUSED IMMEDIATELY ON HIS DISSATISFACTION WITH ARMED FORCES LEADERSHIP. HE SAID HE WAS MAKING SEVERAL MAJOR CHANGES TODAY, INCLUDING SEC OF DEFENSE, CHIEF OF STAFF AND BRIGADE COMMANDER. PRESIDENT HAD READ COL. BARLOW'S STAFF RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESTRUCTURING OF LNG (LIBERIAN ARMY) AND APPROVED IT IN ENTIRETY AS ACTION PLAN. HE INTENDED EFFECT REORGANIZATION ABOUT APRIL FIRST.

2. TUBMAN DID NOT INDICATE WHO WOULD REPLACE OFFICIALS BEING FIRED. COL BARLOW HAD PREVIOUSLY UNDERSTOOD TUBMAN INCLINED TOWARD BRIGADIER GENERAL HK JOHNSON AS CHIEF OF STAFF. LT. COLONELS GIBSON AND KOFFA ARE IN RUNNING FOR BRIGADE COMMANDER. THESE CHANGES WOULD BE DISTINCT IMPROVEMENTS. TUBMAN ALSO LIKELY SEEK MAN OF ABILITY AND DEPENDABLE INTEGRITY TO REPLACE GOODRIDGE, WHOM HE CONSIDERS TO HAVE BEEN BOTH CORRUPT AND INEFFECTUAL.

3. PRES TUBMAN SAID HE THOUGHT HE NEEDED TO GET MORE ARMS FOR HIS ARMED FORCES, PARTICULARLY RIFLES TO ARM MILITIA. TUBMAN WISHES IMPROVE QUALITY OF MILITIA AS MOBILIZATION RESERVE. PRESIDENT ALSO ASSERTED NEED FOR ADDITIONAL AMMUNITION, ALLEGING HIS ADVISERS HAD TOLD HIM LIBERIA POSSESSED ONLY ENOUGH FOR SINGLE DAY'S FIGHTING. COL BARLOW TACTFULLY REFERRED TO INVENTORY FIGURES INDICATING LIBERIANS HAVE ABOUT 12 THOUSAND RIFLES (SOME ADMITTEDLY OLD AND

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SECRET

89

EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

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SECRET

PAGE 02 MONROV 01213 161600Z

OF DUBIOUS SERVICEABILITY) A D ENOUGH RIFLE AMMUNITION TO LAST 53 DAYS OFFENSIVE COMBAT. PRESIDENT WAS IMPRESSED, CURSED RELIABILITY INFO SUPPLIED BY HIS LIBERIAN ADVISERS, AND READILY AGREED TO BARLOW'S SUGGESTION FOR NEW JOINT INVENTORY TO DETERMINE WHETHER ANY ADDITIONAL SMALL ARMS IN FACT NEEDED IN CONNECTION WITH HIS PROGRAM TO REORGANIZE AND UPGRADE ARMED FORCES.

4. COMMENT: I AM HEARTENED BY THIS EVIDENCE THAT TUBMAN TAKING PRAGMATIC APPROACH AND NOT INCLINED REGARD INORDINATE ARMS PURCHASES AS ANSWER TO HIS PROBLEM. WE MAY ALSO TAKE SATISFACTION IN TUBMAN'S TRUST OF AND RESPECT FOR COL BARLOW AND HIS ADVICE, WHICH IN THIS INSTANCE TUBMAN CLEARLY FOUND WELCOME AND REASSURING. BARLOW TELLS ME JOINT INVENTORY WILL REQUIRE ABOUT TWO WEEKS TO COMPLETE.
WESTERFIELD

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EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

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CONFIDENTIAL 427

PAGE 01 MONROV 01124 101507Z

42
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 W

116390

70 MAR 10 PM 6:09

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

R 101222Z MAR 70
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8774

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 1124
EXDIS
REF: MONROVIA 990

SUBJECT: PORT OF HARPER

1. AT FAREWELL DINNER FOR BRITISH AMBASSADOR MARCH 9, AMBASSADOR PEALE REFERRED HISTORY OF PORT HARPER AND SAID PRESIDENT JOHNSON PROMISED HARPER LOAN TO TUBMAN IN PRESENCE OF SECRETARY RUSK, PEALE, SECRETARY PALMER AND OTHERS. PEALE NOTED THAT PRESIDENT JOHNSON CHARGED SECRETARY RUSK SPECIFICALLY WITH TASK OF GETTING PORT FOR GOL AND ASKED PRESIDENT TUBMAN KEEP HIM INFORMED OF PRORESS ON PORT LOAN.

2. AT THIS POINT TUBMAN ALLEGEDLY TURNED TO SECRETARY RUSK IN JOCULAR FASHION AND INFORMED HIM HE NOW KNEW WHO WOULD HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR GETTING HIM PORT.

3. COMMENT: ABOVE DESCRIPTION DOES NOT ACCORD WITH EVENTS AS RELATED TO ME SECONDHAND AT TIME OF TUBMAN 1968 VISIT. I WOULD APPRECIATE AF/W EFFORT TO DETERMINE AND FORWARD ANY AVAILABLE WRITTEN OR ORAL INFORMATION ON DISCUSSION HARPER PORT DURING TUBMAN MEETING WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON. SUCH MATERIAL WOULD PROBABLY BE USEFUL AS BACKGROUND INFO ONLY, SINCE PEALE AND PRESUMABLY PRESIDENT TUBMAN SINCERELY BELIEVE REAL COMMITMENT MADE BY PRESIDENT OF U.S.
WESTERFIELD

NOTE: EXDIS CAPTION INSERTED PER INSTRUCTIONS S/S-O, MR. BROWN.

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CONFIDENTIAL

27

EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

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CONFIDENTIAL 452

PAGE 01 MONROV 01090 091210Z

18
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 W

R 090915Z MAR 70 108505
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8752

'70 MAR 9 AM 11:54

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 1090

E X D I S

SUBJ: SECRETRY'S MTG WITH TUBMAN-MIL ASSISTANCE

REF: STATE 030043 (EXDIS)

1. RE PARA 9 ON TUBMAN'S DISSATISFACTION WITH ARMED FORCES, TUBMAN MADE THIS KNOWN PUBLICLY IN HIS SPEECH ON ARMED FORCES

DAY ON FEB 11. PROBLEM MAINLY ONE OF INSUFFICIENT DISCIPLINE

AND LACK OF RESPECT FOR THE MANY OFFICERS WHO ILLEGALLY GARNISH ENLISTED MEN'S PAY AND OTHERWISE BENEFIT ILLEGALLY FROM THEIR POSITIONS. A COMITE APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF CHIEF MILMISH HAS SUBMITTED JOINT REPORT TO PRESIDENT ON SUBJECT.

2. SAME PARA- TUBMAN REFERENCE TO TWO COASTAL PATROL CRAFT HE SEEKING FROM HMG, NEITHER EMBASSY NOR MILMISH AWARE OF REQUEST TO BRITISH, BUT IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT THE MATTER WAS RAISED BY GRIMES IN HIS TALKS WITH SEC RUSK IN NEWYORKCITY ON OCT 1968.
GOL IS AWARE, HOWEVER, THAT REQUEST FOR LMC 6 INCLUDED IN 1972 MAP, BUT IT IS UNLIKELY SUCH TYPE VESSEL WILL SATISFY GOL DESIRE FOR PATROL CRAFT.

3. PARA 10 REF TO MIL ASSISTANCE GENERALLY PROBABLY MEANT "CONTINUED MIL ASSISTANCE", RATHER THAN A REFERENCE TO GRIMES REQUEST FOR HEAVY EQUIPMENT DURING BILATERAL TALKS WITH SEC IN NEWYORK LAST FALL. IN ANY EVENT, NO SUCH REQUESTS HAVE BEEN RAISED BY ANY DOD OFFICIALS WITH WHOM MILMISH OFFICERS

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PAGE 02 MONROV 01090 091210Z

IN CONSTANT AND CORDIAL CONTACT.

4. I HAVE ASKED CHIEF, MILMISH CONTINUE TO BE ALERT TO POSSIBLE REQUEST FOR HEAVIER HARDWARE. I WOULD BE PLEASED TO INQUIRE OF MY BRITISH COLLEAGUE RE TUBMAN REQUEST FOR VESSELS BUT IN LIGHT LONG STANDING SENSITIVITIES BETWEEN US AND UK ON MIL SALES, AND PROBABILITY FOROFFICE WOULD KNOW MORE THAN AMBASSADOR CURLE, WILL AWAIT INSTRUCTIONS.

5. DEPT PASS LONDON FOR WALKER.
WESTERFIELD

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980/03/8L0

EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

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CONFIDENTIAL 578

PAGE 01 MONROV 00990 021801Z

46
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 W
068608

R 021732Z MAR 70
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8695

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 0990

EXDIS

SUBJ: COMMENTS SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH TUBMAN

REF: STATE 030043

1. I TAKE OPPORTUNITY RECEIPT MEMCON SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH TUBMAN FEBRUARY 22 TO SUBMIT FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS IN HOPE USEFUL TO RESPONSIBLE OFFICERS IN FLESHING OUT MATERIAL CONTAINED REFTEL.

2. PARA 4 SEE MONROVIA 857 FOR MEMCON ON SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH U.S. BUSINESS LEADERS.

3. PARA 5 IN DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL CURRENTS IN AFRICA, SECRETARY MENTIONED KAUNDA IN FAVORABLE LIGHT AND TUBMAN AGREED.

4. PARA 6 LINE ONE WITH REFERENCE ADB, LIBERIA HAS PAID IN 3 AND THE GREATER PART OF 4TH CALL. TREASURY SECRETARY WEEKS HAS RECOMMENDED TO PRESIDENT AND LEGISLATURE THAT GOL SETTLE ITS ARREARS ON REMAINDER OF 4TH AND THE 5TH AND 6TH CALLS. ADB CURRENTLY FINANCING 3 GAS TURBINES FOR PUA AND MAY PARTICIPATE IN GOIC/GOL HYDROELECTRIC PLANT ON CAVALLA RIVER.

5. PARA 7 RE CHICOMS IN GUINEA, GRIMES TOLD NEWSOM AND ME THEY MAY BUILD RAILROAD FROM NIMBA, THUS MAKING UNNECESSARY TRANSPORT ORE THRU LIBERIA (MONROVIA 869).

6. PARA 10 RE TUBMAN MEETING WITH FORMER PRESIDENT JOHNSON, HARPER PORT DISCUSSED WHILE TWO PRESIDENTS ALONE, ALTHOUGH

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MONROV 00990 021801Z

ROSTOW WAS CALLED IN AT LATER STAGE. TO MY KNOWLEDGE, NO MEMCON EXISTS BUT IT SEEMS CLEAR FROM REMARKS MADE BY TUBMAN AND OTHER GOL OFFICIALS AFTER THE STATE VISIT THAT TUBMAN, RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, GOT DEFINITE IMPRESSION U.S. WOULD COME THRU.

7. RE FINAL PARAGRAPH, SUGGEST RECORD MEMCON BE EXPANDED TO MAKE EXPLICIT THAT SECRETARY DID NOT EXCLUDE U.S. FROM PARTICIPATION IN PLAN FOR OPENING J.F.K., AND THAT HE SPECIFIED THAT ANY U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO OPERATION COULD NOT BE OPEN-ENDED. I AM SURE BOTH POINTS REGISTERED WITH LIBERIANS.
WESTERFIELD

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CONFIDENTIAL

L80/40/8EL0

EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

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CONFIDENTIAL 788

PAGE 01 MONROV 00844 220358Z

81
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 FILE-01 /047 W
---------- 024953

R 220234Z FEB 70 ZFF6
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 8633

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 0844

EXDIS

SECTO 119

SUBJ: PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM BONGO

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY

1. I APPECIATE PRESIDENT BONGO'S MESSAGE AND REMINDER STANDS GABON HAS TAKEN ON ISSUES OF COMMON INTEREST.

2. WE REGRET THAT WE CANNOT BE TOTALLY RESPONSIVE REQUESTS FROM FRIENDLY NATIONS SUCH AS GABON. WE UNDERSTAND WORLD BANK HAS NOT MADE FINAL DETERMINATION ON GABONESE RAILWAY. WE MUST AS MATTER POLICY TAKE INTO ACCOUNT BANK'S DECISION IN MAKING OUR OWN. I SHALL ASK AF PURSUE THIS POINT WHEN WE RETURN.

3. YOU SHOULD EXPLAIN TO BONGO I CANNOT MAKE COMMITMENTS RE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE. WE CANNOT, HOWEVER, GIVE HIM ANY EN-COURAGEMENT TO EXPECT INVITATION. NEITHER HAS POLICY YET BEEN SET ON 25TH ANNIVERSARY VISITS.

4. WE APPRECIATE WHAT GABONESE HAVE DONE, BUT WE CANNOT AT THIS TIME GIVE ANY ENCOURAGEMENT GREATER EXPECTATIONS FROM US. ULTIMATE ANSWER LIES IN LONGER TERM RECOMMENDATIONS ON FOREIGN AID AND BANK'S REVIEW OF SUCH PROUECT AS RAILWAY.
WESTERFIELD

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EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

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file

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 145

PAGE 01 MONROV 00273 201301Z

50
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /046 W
---------- 091263

O 201206Z JAN 70 ZFF1
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8378

70 JAN 20 PM 2:39

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MONROVIA 0273

EXDIS

SUBJ: SEC VISIT AFRICA NO. 20

REF: STATE 008383; MONROVIA 263

1. I AM DISMAYED BY PROSPECT THAT SECRETARY MAY BE UNABLE TO ARRIVE IN MONROVIA BEFORE 6:25 P.M., FEB. 21. WE HAVE LED LIBERIANS TO EXPECT SECRETARY WOULD ARRIVE IN TIME FOR DINNER, WHICH NOW HARDLY POSSIBLE. EVEN IF ARRIVAL ACTIVITY AT AIRPORT CONFINED TO QUICK HANDSHAKE WE COULD NOT EXPECT PARTY TO REACH DUCOR HOTEL (FORTY MILES FROM AIRPORT) BEFORE 7:30 AT VERY EARLIEST, WITH 7:40 MORE REALISTIC ESTIMATE. THIS WOULD ALLOW NO TIME FOR CHANGE OF CLOTHES AND NO TIME FOR CALL (OR CALLS) BEFORE DEPARTURE FOR DINNER.

2. STRONGLY URGE PLANNERS EXPLORE EVERY POSSIBILITY OF ADVANCING ARRIVAL BY AT LEAST ONE HOUR. ALTHOUGH IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT LIBERIANS WOULD BE WILLING TO SCHEDULE ARRIVAL FOR DINNER AT 9:00 P.M., THIS WOULD BE AWKWARD AT BEST, AND THERE IS POSSIBILITY THEY WOULD FEEL OBLIGED TO BOW OUT OF PICTURE FOR SATURDAY EVENING.
WESTERFIELD

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EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 045

PAGE 01 MONROV 01893 241312Z

44
ACTION SS 30

INFO /030 W

---------- 019158

R 241007Z APR 69
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6597

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MONROVIA 1893

EXDIS

REFERENCE: STATE 063438

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY PALMER FROM AMBASSADOR

ACCEPT JUDGEMENT PC/W OF MATTER OF IMMEDIATE VISIT BUT DEPENDING ON FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS HERE MAY RECOMMEND VISIT AT SOME TIME IN FUTURE. BROWN

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P2

PAGE 01 MONROV 01859 221824Z

53
ACTION SS 30

INFO /030 W

006732

R 221652Z APR 69
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6580

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MONROVIA 1859

E X D I S

FOR DEPASSTSECY MOORE FROM AMBASSADOR

SUBJ: PEACE CORPS DISSIDENCE.

1. IF PEACE CORPS IS CONSIDERING SENDING TOP LEVEL REPRESENTATIVE TO MONROVIA, I RECOMMEND THEY BE ENCOURAGED TO DO SO.

2. IT APPEARS TO ME THAT SOME OF ISSUES WILL ULTIMATELY REQUIRE WASHINGTON-LEVEL DECISION. PRACTICAL UTILITY OF HAVING AUTHORITATIVE MAN ON SCENE SHOULD BE SUBSTANTIALLY MORE IMPORTANT THAN ATTENTION VISIT WOULD DRAW. WE SHALL HAVE TO DO MORE THAN LOOK UNRUFFLED TO MAKE THIS ONE GO AWAY. MAXIMUM TACT, DISCRETION AND FLEXIBILITY WILL BE REQUIRED IF WE ARE TO AVOID FURTHER DAMAGE TO US IMAGE AND TO PEACE CORPS PROSPECTS IN LIBERIA. BROWN

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DATE
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TO) PAF ✓
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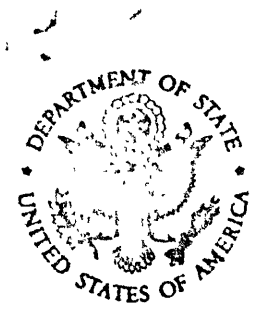
33785

file with Ed Roberts

#4 33785 (6)



Department of State TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL

O 020040Z NOV 71 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA IMMEDIATE 8495
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 199407

265Q
November 1, 7:40 PM 1971

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE

SUBJECT: MRS. NIXON TO HEAD US DELEGATION TO TOLBERT INAUGURAL

1. YOU SHOULD INFORM LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT SOONEST THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS DESIGNATED MRS. NIXON AS HIS PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE TO HEAD THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE INQUGURATION OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT, JANUARY 2-4.

2. USG WILL INFORM GOL OF FULL MEMBERSHIP OF US DELEGATION AT LATER TIME.

3. FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT WILL BE MADE BY WHITE HOUSE AT 11 A.M. EST NOVEMBER 2:

THE PRESIDENT HAS DESIGNATED MRS. NIXON AS HIS PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE TO HEAD THE US DELEGATION AT THE CEREMONIES MARKING THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM R. TOLBERT, JR., OF LIBERIA IN MONROVIA ON JANUARY 2-4, 1972. THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION WILL BE ANNOUNCED LATER. ROGERS
BT

Drafted by: AF/W - O R Aggrey
Approved by: S/S - Robert H Miller
Cleared by: AF - Mr Newsom
S/CPR - Mr Mosbacher
WH - Mr Wright

CONFIDENTIAL

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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46
ORIGIN AF-18

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 NSC-10 IO-12 CPR-02 SY-03 CIAE-00 INR-06

NSAE-00 RSC-01 PRS-01 /068 R

DRAFTED BY AF:CGROSS:AC
09/26/72 EXT 22446
APPROVED BY AF:CGROSS
AF/W - MR. SHERWOOD
S/S - MR. BARNES
AF/RA - MR. WALKER (INFO)
06

---------- 082373

P 271737Z SEP 72
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 176364

SUBJECT: VISIT OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT TO U.S.

REF: MONROVIA 4696

1. WHILE IN ATHENS PRESIDENT TOLBERT RAISED ALSO WITH AMB. TASCA POSSIBILITY HE MIGHT COME TO UN THIS FALL TO REPRESENT OAU SUMMIT AS SUBSTITUTE FOR KING HASSAN. TASCA SAID HE HAD IMPRESSION TOLBERT WOULD HOPE SEE PRESIDENT NIXON DURING THIS VISIT.

2. IF TOLBERT RAISES WITH YOU QUESTION OF MEETING WITH PRESIDENT NIXON, YOU SHOULD SAY YOU WILL OF COURSE INFORM WASHINGTON IMMEDIATELY BUT REMAIN SYMPATHETICALLY NON-COMMITTAL ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF HIS SEEING PRESIDENT.

3. DEPT. WOULD APPRECIATE HAVING AS MUCH ADVANCE NOTICE AS POSSIBLE OF DETAILS OF TOLBERT'S TRAVEL PLANS. IRWIN

EXDIS EXDIS EXDIS

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 STATE 001808

82
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 /026 R

66644
DRAFTED BY:AF/W: HEHORAN
APPROVED BY:AF-C. ROBERT MOORE
S/S-MR MILLER
NSC STAFF-MR. RONDON (SUBSTANCE)
---------- 073793

R 452157Z JAN 72
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 001808

EXDIS

REF: STATE 1201

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S TRIPS TO PEKING AND MOSCOW

SINCE SUBJECT PRESIDENT'S VISITS PEKING AND MOSCOW
COVERED IN MRS. NIXON'S MEETINGS WITH HEADS OF STATE
YOU SHOULD NOT RPT NOT TAKE ACTION REQUESTED IN REFTEL.
GP-3. IRWIN

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40
ORIGIN AF-13

INFO OCT-01 CPR-02 SS-14 NSC-10 P-03 PRS-01 USIA-12 OPR-02

A-01 INR-06 INRE-00 M-03 PER-05 /073 R

66607
DRAFTED BY: AF/W: GATRAIL
APPROVED BY: S/CPR: WRCODUS
S/S: MR MILLER
AF: MR CARTER
AF/P: MR PELTIER
WHITE HOUSE: MR WRIGHT

Ed Roberts

109268

P R 031813Z DEC 71
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 218443

REF: (A) MONROVIA 5483; (B) STATE 204146; (C) 211675

SUBJ: MRS. NIXON'S VISIT: LIBERIA

1. WHITE HOUSE PLANS ANNOUNCE MORNING DECEMBER 6 FULL US DELEGATION FOR INAUGURATION WHICH COMPOSED AS FOLLOWS: MRS. NIXON WILL HEAD THE DELEGATION AS PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT: AMBASSADOR SAMUEL Z. WESTERFIELD, THE REVEREND WILLIAM F. (BILLY) GRAHAM, BERNARD J. LASKER, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE AND MRS. JOHN H. JOHNSON, WIFE OF PRESIDENT OF JOHNSON PUBLISHING COMPANY HAVE BEEN NAMED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT WITH RANK OF SPECIAL AMBASSADOR. PLEASE NOTIFY DEPT. WHEN YOU HAVE INFORMED GOL.

2. MRS. GRAHAM, AND MR. LASKER'S TWO CHILDREN, JOHN 20 AND JOAN 19, WILL BE PART OF THE OFFICIAL PARTY

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AND SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN OFFICIAL INAUGURAL AND SESQUICENTENNIAL ACTIVITIES AS APPROPRIATE. MRS. NIXON WILL DEPART LIBERIA JAN. 5 FOR VISITS TO GHANA AND IVORY COAST.

3. YOU MAY WISH EXPLORE WITH CODUS DURING HIS VISIT FEASIBILITY OF SCHEDULING FOR MRS. NIXON ACTIVITIES OTHER THAN OFFICIAL INAUGURAL FUNCTIONS.

4. FYI: US REPRESENTATION AT SESQUICENTENNIAL STILL UNCERTAIN. WILL ADVISE ASAP. END FYI.

DECON AFTER DEC. 31, 1971. ROGERS

0738/03/095

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PAGE 01 STATE 158870

47 53
ORIGIN AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 NSC-10 NSCE-00 INR-05 CIAE-00 NSAE-00

RSC-01 /035 R

66604
DRAFTED BY:AF:NEWSOM
APPROVED BY:AF:NEWSOM
S/S:MILLER
WHITE HOUSE:WRIGHT
AF/W:AGGREY

---------- 047123

R 301629Z AUG 71
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 158870

LIMDIS

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM NEWSOM

REF: MONROVIA 4197

1. WHILE APPRECIATING FACTORS WHICH WOULD MAKE INVITATION FOR STATE VISIT TO TOLBERT DESIRABLE IN NEAR FUTURE, IT WOULD NOT BE FAIR TO PRESIDENT TOLBERT OR LIBERIANS TO GIVE THEM SLIGHTEST ENCOURAGEMENT TO BELIEVE SUCH IS POSSIBLE IN EITHER '71 OR '72. THIS MUST OF NECESSITY BE OUR REPLY TO ANY APPROACH BY AMB. PEAL.

2. PRESIDENT NIXON'S SCHEDULE FOR REMAINDER THIS YEAR VIRTUALLY COMPLETE. WE UNDERSTAND POSSIBILITY ANY STATE VISITS IN '72 (ELECTION YEAR) VERY DOUBTFUL.

3. LACK OF POSSIBILITY FOR STATE VISIT WOULD NOT PRECLUDE POSSIBILITY OFFICE VISIT DURING THIS PERIOD, BUT PROBABLY NOT BEFORE INAUGURATION. SUCH VISIT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE IF SUFFICIENT ADVANCE NOTICE IS GIVEN BUT NO SUGGESTION REGARDING SUCH VISIT SHOULD BE MADE WITHOUT FURTHER CLEARANCE FROM DEPT.

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 158870

4. QUESTIONS RAISED REFTEL RELATIVE TO USG ASSISTANCE TO SEKOU TOURE AND LIBERIAN ROLE IN USG/GOG RELATIONS WILL BE TREATED SEPTEL.

GP-3. ROGERS

960/29/0210

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Department of State

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

JUL 30 AM 8 25

CONFIDENTIAL 397

PAGE 01 STATE 137901

87
ORIGIN SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /046 R

66635
DRAFTED BY: AF/S:WELANDFAIR:OSCROSBY
APPROVED BY: AF-DAVIDD.NEWSOM
H-SAMUELS SUBS:BURKE INFO
HOUSE AFRICA SUBCOM-BUTCHER SUBS:
---------- 070021

O R 292144Z JUL 71 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 137901
EXDIS
FOR CARTER FROM NEWSOM - PLEASE DELIVER TO DEP ASST CARTER
BEFORE PLANE TAKEOFF JULY 30

SUBJECT: CODEL DIGGS VISIT TO SOUTHAFRICA

REF: PRETORIA 2134 (NOTAL)

1. PLEASE INFORM CHAIRMAN DIGGS THAT SAG URGENTLY REQUESTS CODEL ADJUST SCHEDULE TO ARRIVE LATER IN AUG. FIRST THREE WEEKS IN AUG ARE EXTREMELY BUSY FOR SAG, WITH MANY VISITORS, INCLUDING BANDA ARRIVING AUG 16, AND ACCOMMODATIONS IN SWA ARE LIMITED. WE HAVE INFORMED DIGGS' STAFF OF THIS AND THEY HAVE FOUND IT TECHNICALLY FEASIBLE TO REVERSE SCHEDULE TO PUT SA AT END, ARRIVING ROUGHLY AUG 22. THIS SHOULD MEET NEEDS OF SAG AND HAVE ADDITIONAL ADVANTAGE OF ALLOWING MORE TIME FOR SA AND SWA. THERE REMAINS A QUESTION OF WHETHER CONG. VANDER JAGT COULD MAKE THIS ADJUSTMENT, BUT IN ORDER TO SPEED RESOLUTION OF THIS QUESTION SO ARRANGEMENTS CAN MOVE AHEAD, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF CONG. DIGGS COULD INDICATE WHETHER HE WOULD BE AGREEABLE TO REVISION OF SCHEDULE AS ABOVE.

2. PLEASE CABLE OR PHONE FROM PLANE CONG. DIGGS' REACTION.
ROGERS

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NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O-MR. HOLLY.

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ORIGIN CPR-02

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 SS-20 HEW-08 H-02 NSC-10 DODE-00 P-03

PRS-01 USIE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 RSC-01 /060 R

66635
DRAFTED BY: S/CPR:JPLEAHY
APPROVED BY: MARIONH.SMOAK
AF-W.BEVERLYCARTER DRAFT
WHITE HOUSE-MARSHALLWRIGHT
S/S-MILLER

---------- 052266

O 272322Z JUL 71 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 136305

SUBJECT: TUBMAN FUNERAL

REF: STATE 135195

TOTAL NOW IN PARTY IS 21 NOT INCLUDING CREW OF 13 OR AMB AND MRS. PEALE. REQUEST VISA WAIVERS FOR ENTIRE GROUP WHICH IS NOW BROKEN DOWN IN PRECEDENCE ORDER AS FOLLOWS WITH DOB, POB AND PPT NUMBER ADDED:

A. OFFICIAL DELEGATION

HON. ROBERT H. FINCH	10/9/25	ARIZONA	X062377
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS	12/2/22	MICHIGAN	X055492
MR. ROY WILKINS	8/30/01	MISSOURI	H835906
MR. RAYMOND C. FIRESTONE	9/6/08	OHIO	A877313
HON. SAMUEL C. JACKSON	5/8/29	KANSAS	Y851525

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

MR. W. BEVERLY CARTER 2/1/21 PENNA. X024369

B. ADDITIONAL OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES:

HON. JOHN A. VENEMAN, UNDER SECY HEW, 10/31/25, CALIFORNIA, X065151

HON. PATRICIA HITT, ASST SECY FOR COMMUNITY AND FIELD SERVICES, HEW, 1/24/18, CALIFORNIA, Y950478

HON. GILBERT HAHN, CHAIRMAN, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COUNCIL, 9/12/21, D.C., A814839

MR. EARL MAZO, ASST TO THE COUNSELLOR TO THE PRESIDENT, 7/7/19, WARSAW POLAND, A2032378

C. TRAVELLING IN PRIVATE CAPACITY

MR. ARVID G. LUND, PRESIDENT FIRESTONE NATURAL RUBBER AND LATEX CO., 5/2/14, ILL., J977044 (MR. LUND IS ACCOMPANYING MR. FIRESTONE)

D. STAFF MEMBERS ACCOMPANYING THE DELEGATION

MR. STANLEY S. SCOTT, ASST TO DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS, THE WHITE HOUSE, 7/2/33, TENN., Y1009175

MR. JAMES M. POPE, DEP DIR, AFP, DEPT OF STATE, 4/17/27, PENNA., Y828925

MR. THOMAS MOSSELLEM, ASST CHIEF OF PROTOCOL FOR ADMINISTRATION, PROTOCOL ESCORT, 10/13/37, PENNA., X029354

MR. STEPHEN J. MCCARTHY, PROTOCOL ESCORT, 12/26/40, ILL., G1083538

LT. COL. MARCUS JOHN GRAVEL, MILITARY AIDE TO MR. FINCH, 2/2/30, MINN., Y979988

MISS DORIS JONES, SECRETARY TO MR. FINCH, 9/9/27, OHIO, Y979987

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E. MEMBERS OF THE PRESS

MISS ETHEL PAYNE, NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION, 8/14/11, ILLINOIS, G000238

MRS. LILLIAN WIGGINS, AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS, 6/26/30, OHIO, H138894

MR. G. MARSHALL WILSON, JOHNSON PUBLICATIONS, J1249188 KY. 10/14/05

MR. HANS J. MASSAQUOI, JOHNSON PUBLICATIONS, 1/19/26, HAMBURG, GERMANY (NATURALIZED 6/21/60 IN CHICAGO), K1753579

F. AIRCRAFT CREW

MAJ. JACK EDWIN CRACRAFT	11/2/31	KANSAS	Y713790
MAJ. ROBT. HAROLD GUINN	5/27/34	LOUISIANA	Y612263
MAJ. CECIL N. SMITH II	5/26/35	LOUISIANA	Y804261
MAJ. FREDDIE WM. FIGGE	7/19/34	KANSAS	Y918273
MAJ. ROBERT ALAN MANNS	9/23/35	KANSAS	Y942934
AMN. MARSHALL H. NASH	10/13/33	CALIF.	Y829875
AMN. RICHARD ALLEN WEAVER	9/30/41	NEW JERSEY	Y1008655
AMN. GEORGE C. COLEMAN	8/23/44	LOUISIANA	Y717963
AMN. THOMAS PAPPAS	1/7/36	MASS.	Y670438
AMN. RICHARD P. RITTER	6/13/36	NEW YORK	Y1007087
AMN. BRADLEY OLIVER BABB	7/29/38	MAINE	Y555514
AMN. DAVID LARRY THORNTON	10/11/41	PENNA.	Y979660
AMN. RICHARD J.M. VOXLAND	9/18/36	MINNESOTA	Y887523

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DEPT REALIZES NEED FOR KEEPING OFFICIAL DEL TO MINIMAL SIZE BUT HOPES EMB WILL BE ABLE ARRANGE INVITATIONS TO SELECTED EVENTS FOR ADDITIONAL OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES AND ARRANGE APPROPRIATE HOUSING. ROGERS

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CONFIDENTIAL 552

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ORIGIN SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /046 R

66608
DRAFTED BY: AF/W:JDSTEMPEL
APPROVED BY: AF - W. BEVERLY CARTER
AF/W:MR. AGGREY
AF/RA-COL. CRITZ
OP-611-CAPT. HUGO
DOD/ISA-MR. LARDNER SUBS
J-5-CAPT. CUMMINS
J-3-CAPT. SPOON
S/S - MR. BORG

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
'71 JUL 26 PM 7:22

---------- 041037

O R 261751Z JUL 71 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA IMMEDIATE
INFO CINCSTRIKE
USS POWER
USS NOA
CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 134824

EXDIS

JOINT STATE/DEFENSE MESSAGE

SUBJ: SHIP VISIT

REF: MONROVIA 3590, 3596, 3595

1. YOU MAY PROCEED WITH ARRANGEMENTS. NAVY WILL NOTIFY POWER AND NOA THAT VISIT WILL BE IN ACCORDANCE REFTELS. STATE/DOD BELIEVE COMBINED HONOR GUARD (25 TO 30 MEN TOTAL) BOTH SHIPS APPROPRIATE TO OCCASION AND TO KEEP US PARTICIPATION IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE. DETAILED ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD BE DEVELOPED BY AMBASSADOR AND COMMANDING OFFICERS.

2. ROUTE ALL MESSAGES THIS SUBJECT TO CINCLANT, CNO,

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USS POWER AND USS NOA• ROGERS

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SECRET 716

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2/3

81
ORIGIN SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 R

66641
DRAFTED BY:AF/W/ JDSTEMPEL
APPROVED BY: AF-C. ROBERT MOORE
AF/W- MR TRAIL S/S-O MR HOLLY
AF/W- MR AGGREY

---------- 096679

R 160156Z JUL 71
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA

S E C R E T STATE 128452

EXDIS

FROM ACTING ASST SECY MOORE
FOR AMBASSADOR

REF: MONROVIA 3384

1. USG HAS NO RPT NO DESIRE IN BECOMING INVOLVED GHANIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. SHOULD YOU BE APPROACHED AGAIN BY SHERMAN GBEDEMAH OR BOTH, YOU SHOULD STATE IT USG POLICY NOT RPT NOT INTERVENE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AFRICAN NATIONS, AND THEREFORE SUGGESTED FINANCING OPERATION CLEARLY OUT OF THE QUESTION.

BEGIN FYI: DURING GHANA 1969 ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN USG CHARGED WITH INTERVENTION GHANAIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. OVER PAST TWO YEARS ALLEGATIONS GRADUALLY SUBSIDED AS RELATIONS WITH GOG AND OPPOSITION PARTIES STEADILY IMPROVED. GBEDEMAH CURRENTLY OUT OF ACTIVE POLITICAL PICTURE, AS OPPOSITION LEADERSHIP HAS PASSED INTO OTHER HANDS. DEPT DOES NOT RPT NOT SHARE GBEDEMAH VIEW BUSIA GOVT. END FYI

2. IF FURTHER APPROACHES MADE, YOU SHOULD LISTEN NONCOMITTALLY AND DISCOURAGE IDEA USG WOULD EVEN CONSIDER ACTIVITIES THIS NATURE. FURTHERMORE, LIBERIANS DOUBTLESS AWARE USG HAS CLOSE

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TIES BUSIA GOVT. GIVEN GOL SENSITIVITIES USG- GOL RELATIONSHIP, ANY OTHER ANSWER MIGHT GENERATE QUESTIONS RE USG ATTITUDES/ ACTION TOWARD OTHER " FRIENDS." (E.G., GOL). GP3. IRWIN

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ORIGIN SS-45

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66604
DRAFTED BY:AF/W:NORTH
APPROVED BY:AF:NEWSOM
AF:MOORE SUBS
AF/W:AGGREY
INR:WELLONS
S/S:CURRAN
SY/FO:SCHULTZ INFO

117363

O R 082139Z APR 71 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
INFO AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

S E C R E T STATE 059478

EXDIS

SUBJ: REPORT OF GUINEA DISSIDENT THREATS AGAINST AMERICAN NATIONALS

REF: A. MONROVIA 1553; B. CONAKRY 781

1. REFTEL A PROVIDED SECOND REPORT ANTI-TOURE GUINEAN GROUP PLANS TO ASSISSINATE OR KIDNAP AMB. SHERER OR OTHER AMERICAN IN GUINEA. GROUP BLAMES AMERICANS FOR FAILURE OF NOV 22 ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW TOURE AND BELIEVES ONLY WAY AMERICAN ATTENTION CAN BE DRAWN TO GUINEA SITUATION IS THROUGH DRASTIC ACTION AGAINST AMERICAN CITIZENS. AMB. CLARK HAS INFORMED PRESIDENT SENGHOR OF EARLIER REPORT OF SAME THREAT. DEPT THEREFORE REQUESTS AMB. ROOT CONVEY TO PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY AND AMB. WESTERFIELD CONVEY TO GRIMES, IN MOST SECURE MANNER POSSIBLE, PRESUMABLY THROUGH PRIVATE AUDIENCE, FOLLOWING POINTS, INDICATING THAT YOU ARE ACTING ON DEPT INSTRUCTIONS:

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A. FOR PRACTICAL PURPOSES US IS ONLY WESTERN NATION WITH LIMITED INFLUENCE IN GUINEA. OUR ABILITY TO MAINTAIN DIRECT, FRIENDLY ACCESS TO TOURE AND OTHER GUINEANS IMPORTANT CONSIDERING CONCERTED COMMUNIST EFFORT UNDERMINE FREE WORLD INTERESTS IN GUINEA AND DRIVE IT INTO CLOSER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH COMMUNISTS. THROUGH PATIENCE AND QUIET DIPLOMACY WE ARE DOING WHAT WE CAN IN DIFFICULT SITUATION TO PRESERVE WESTERN ACCESS.

B. ALTHOUGH WE CANNOT VOUCH FOR ACCURACY OF REPORTS, WE HAVE LEARNED FROM FRIENDLY SOURCES IN AFRICA AND EUROPE THAT SOME GUINEAN DISSIDENTS ARE UNDER MISTAKEN IMPRESSION USG WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR DEFEAT IN CONAKRY LAST NOVEMBER. THESE DISSIDENTS, OUT OF EXTREME FRUSTRATION, REPORTEDLY PLAN TO ACT AGAINST AN AMERICAN RESIDENT IN GUINEA WITH HOPE DRAMATIZING SITUATION AND INFLUENCING US POLICY.

C. USG VIEWS THESE REPORTS WITH EXTREME SERIOUSNESS AND CONCERN. SUCH ACTION WOULD ONLY EXACERBATE ALREADY DIFFICULT SITUATION.

D. USG WOULD APPRECIATE BEING INFORMED OF ANY REPORTS OF THIS KIND THAT COME TO THE ATTENTION OF GOIC OR GOL. WE OF COURSE ALSO APPRECIATE ANY HELP GOIC AND GOL FEEL IN POSITION TO GIVE IN PERSUADING DISSIDENTS TO ABANDON REPORTED ACTIONS.

2. FOR MONROVIA: AFTER MEETING WITH GRIMES REQUEST EMBASSY ARRANGE WITH GOL FOR DISCRETE CONTACT WITH DIANE DIRECTLY WITH EMBOFF OR THROUGH OTHER APPROPRIATE CHANNEL TO SOLICIT FURTHER DETAILS OF PLOT ALONG LINES OF CONAKRY 781. DEPT IS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN NAMES OF THOSE MOST OIKELY TO CARRY OUT ASSASSINATION OR KIDNAP ATTEMPT AND NAMES OF THOSE DIRECTING ACTION. EMBOFF OR OTHER CHANNEL IS INSTRUCTED TO CONVEY TO DIANE EXTREME SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH USG VIEWS THESE PLANS AND TO REQUEST DIANE TO TRANSMIT TO THOSE RESPONSIBLE THESE VIEWS.

3. INFORM DEPT BY IMMEDIATE RESULTS OF DEMARCHES.

GP-1. ROGERS

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ORIGIN SS-45

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66633
DRAFTED BY:AF/S:WEHORAN
APPROVED BY:AF-DAVID D. NEWSOM
S/S-MR. HAWLEY
AF/W-MR. MELBOURNE

'70 MAR 24 AM 8:18

WHITE HOUSE

068965

R 240124Z MAR 70
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
INFO CINCSTRIKE

S E C R E T STATE 042565

EXDIS

SUBJ: PRESIDENT TUBMAN'S "REQUEST" FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE

REF: STATE 041796

UNLESS EMBASSY PERCEIVES OBJECTIONS, DEPARTMENT SUGGESTS, FOR OPERATIONAL REASON, THAT IN FUTURE MESSAGES REF SUBJECT HANDLING INDICATOR EXDIS NOT RPT NOT BE USED.
ROGERS

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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66642
DRAFTED BY:AF/W HEHORAN
APPROVED BY:AF-DAVID D NEWSOM
AF/W MR MELBOURNE
S/S MR BROWN
PM/MAS MR MATHERON
DOD/ISA MR LARDNER INFO

70 MAR 21 AM 9:02
WHITE HOUSE
WASHDC

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R 210121Z MAR 70
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
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S E C R E T STATE 041796

EXDIS

SUBJ PRESIDENT TUBMAN'S "REQUEST" FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE

REF: (A) MONROVIA 1115 (B) MONROVIA 1213

1. AMBASSADOR PEAL CALLED ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY NEWSOM MARCH 18 TO DISCUSS IN GENERAL TERMS POSSIBILITY OF US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO LIBERIA ALONG SAME LINES AS TAKEN WITH AMBASSADOR IN REF A. HE DID NOT DWELL ON SPECIFICS BUT INDICATED, IN CONTEXT TUBMAN'S CURRENT CONCERN STATE LIBERIAN ARMY, HIS GOVERNMENT ANXIOUS TO KNOW HOW USG CAN BE OF ASSISTANCE.
2. NEWSOM DREW ON REF B TO BRIEF PEAL ON CURRENT STATUS OF TUBMAN-COL. BARLOW TALKS. PEAL OBVIOUSLY HAD NOT BEEN INFORMED BY HIS GOVERNMENT OF THESE TALKS AND HE SEEMED RELIEVED BY REASSURANCES COL. BARLOW ABLE TO GIVE HIS PRESIDENT. REITERATING CURRENT LIMITATIONS ON OUR ABILITY TO MEET REQUESTS FOR MILITARYASSISTANCE NEWSOM ASSURED PEAL USG IN SYMPATHY WITH TUBMAN'S DESIRES TO IMPROVE EFFICIENCY OF LIBERIAN ARMY. NEWSOM SAID USG COULD MAKE NO COMMITMENTS UNTIL THE JOINT INVENTORY SUGGESTED BY COL. BARLOW (PARA 3 REF B) HAS BEEN COMPLETED.

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3. REAL NEXT STATED THAT TUBMAN HAD RAISED WITH HIM IN GENERAL TERMS HIS DESIRE TO SEE THE USG MILITARY MISSION BECOME MORE ASSERTIVE AND "COME TO SEE ME MORE." PEAL IMPLIED THAT MORE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ON HOW THE US MILITARY MISSION MIGHT STRENGTHEN ITS ADVISORY ROLE WOULD BE FORTHCOMING FROM GOL TO EMBASSY. WE MADE NO COMMITMENT.
ROGERS

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LIBERIA

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CONFIDENTIAL 903

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PAGE 01 STATE 030043

81
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DRAFTED BY: AF:WBCARTER
APPROVED BY: AF:W BEVERLY CARTER, JR
S/S:MEL LEVITSKY
C: MR PEDERSEN

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R 280044Z FEB 70
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 030043

EXDIS

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH TUBMAN

1. THE SECRETARY MET FOR SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT TUBMAN 1215 HOURS, 22 FEBRUARY AT EXECUTIVE MANSION. OTHER LIBERIANS PRESENT WERE SECRETARY OF STATE GRIMES, AMBASSADOR TO US PEAL AND SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO SECSTATE HOLDEN. OTHER AMERICANS WERE AMBASSADOR WESTERFIELD AND MESSRS. NEWSOM AND CARTER.

2. FOLLOWING OPENING PLEASANTRIES SECRETARY GAVE PRESIDENT NIXON'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT TUBMAN. TUBMAN PLEASED RECEIVE LETTER AND COMMENDTED FAVORABLY ON SEVERAL MEETINGS HE HAS HELD WITH PRESIDENT NIXON.

3. PRESIDENT TUBMAN THEN MOVED ON TO REHEARSED RECITATION US/LIBERIAN RELATIONS WHICH HE CALLED EXCELLENT. HE SAID HE KNOWS OF NO BARRIERS AND NOTHING HAS HAPPENDED TO CHANGE BASIC RELATIONSHIP. HE SAID LIBERIA HAS TAKEN FREE ENTERPRISE, DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE AS QUOTE OUR WAY OF LIFE. END QUOTE PRESIDENT SAID THERE HAD BEEN CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT TO TALK OF SOCIALISM AND SPECIFICALLY QUOTE AFRICAN SOCIALISM, END QUOTE BUT THERE WAS NO THOUGHT OF CHANGE IN LIBERIA, UNLESS PEOPLE SO REQUESTED. HE SAID THERE NO VISIBLE SIGN HIS PEOPLE WANTED CHANGE.

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4. SECRETARY TOLD PRESIDENT OF FAVORABLE COMMENTS AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN HAD MADE ABOUT LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT AND CONDITIONS IN THE COUNTRY AT MEETING EARLIER IN THE DAY. SECRETARY ASSURED TUBMAN NEW USG ADMINISTRATION INTENDS CONTINUE CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH LIBERIA.

5. PRESIDENT THEN DISCUSSED POLITICAL CURRENTS IN AFRICA. HE DESCRIBED NKRUMAH'S EARLY MOVEMENT TOWARD PAN-AFRICANISM, THE SETTING UP OF MONROVIA AND CASABLANCA GROUPINGS AND ULTIMATE EMERGENCE OF OAU WHICH HE PRAISED. TUBMAN THOUGHT OAU ACTED WISELY IN SUPPORTING NIGERIA AND REJECTING SECESSION, EVEN THOUGH THE PRESIDENT POINTEDLY REFERRED TO HIS LONG STANDING FRIENDHSIP WITH AZIKIWE AND OTHER IBOS. PRESIDENT VOLUNTEERED OPINION HE BELIEVES GENERAL GOWON PURSUING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION WITH SAME EQUILIBRIUM HE PURSUED WAR.

6. TUBMAN THANKED USG FOR ITS EARLY SUPPORT AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK. TURNING TO SOUTH AFRICA, PRESIDENT SAID QUOTE WE CANNOT BUT FEEL APARTHEID IS MOST HEINOUS PHENOMENON, POLITICALLY AND SOCIALLY. END QUOTE. HE FELD USG AND OTHERS SHOULD RENOUNCE SUCH SYSTEM. HE SAID DESPITE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY REALITIES, MAJOR WORLD POWERS MUST DEVELOP CONCERTED ACTION TO CORRECT SITUATION. HE RULED OUT ARMED INTERVENTION BUT FELT QUOTE RIGHT KIND OF PRESSURE END QUOTE FROM PROPER SOURCES COULD BE BENEFICIAL. (TUBMAN HAD MET WITH AMERICAN JOURNALISTS EARLIER IN DAY AND THEY HAD ASKED HIS OPINION OF WHAT USG MIGHT DO TO HELP IMPROVE SOUTHERN AFRICAN SITUATION. HE DECLINED OFFER SUGGESTIONS OR COMMENT.)

7. IN REVIEWING COMMUNIST PENETRATION IN AFRICA, TUBMAN SAID CHICOMS HAVE MORE INFLUENCE IN GUINEA THAN SOVIETS, BUT HE DOES NOT BELIEVE TOURE IS A COMMUNIST. TUBMAN BELIEVES HIM TO BE INTENSE NATIONALIST. HE SAID GOIC AND GOL ORIGINALLY TOOK DECISIONS TOGETHER NOT ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ANY COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, BUT HOUPHOUET DID SO, NOW REGRETS IT. TUBMAN SAID HE BELIEVES GOWON NOT LIKELY FALL UNDER INFLUENCE SOVIETS. PRESIDENT DISCOURAGED ABOUT BRAZZAVILLE DEVELOPMENTS, BUT SAID GABON, CAMEROON AND IVORY COAST NOT LIKLEY BE SO TAKEN. HE SAID QUOTE I WAS NEVER MORE DISAPPOINTED IN ANY MAN THAN I WAS IN JULIUS NYERERE. END QUOTE TUBMAN CLAIMED BEFORE INDEPENDENCE GOL HAD GIVEN NYERERE DOLS 40,000 PLUS JEEPS. HE SAID JULIUS

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HAD COMPLETELY WAFFLED ON COMMUNISM.

8. SECRETARY URGED ADB MAKE CAREFUL SELECTION ITS NEXT HEAD SO AS FACILITATE SUPPORT FROM USG AND OTHERS. SECRETARY TOLD PRESIDENT HOW IMPRESSED HE WAS WITH ECA AND ROBERT GARDINER APPROACH. TUBMAN CONCURRRED IN PRAISING GARDINER.

9. PRESIDENT SAID HE NOT INTERESTED BUILDING STRONG MILITARY MACHINE WHICH HIS COUNTRY COULD NEVER AFFORD BUT WOULD CONTINUE RELY 1938 USG/GOL TREATY. TUBMAN DID REVEAL CONSIDERABLE DISSATISFACTION WITH GOL ARMED SERVICES. HE NOTED DEFICIENCIES IN DISCIPLINE AND MORALE. WHILE NOT FEELING THREATENED BY HIS NEIGHBORS, TUBMAN EXPRESSED DESIRE STRENGTHEN ARMED SERVICES FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY PURPOSES. HE ESPECIALLY INTERESTED SEVERAL VESSELS FOR USE ALONG COASTLINE AND HE ALREADY PURSUING THIS WITH BRITISH. GOL WILL PURSUE OTHER NEEDS IN MEETINGS WITH APPROPRIATE EMBASSY OFFICERS.

10. TUBMAN SUMMARIZED GOL NEEDS AS: (1) FURTHER PRIVATE INVESTMENTS; (2) MILITARY ASSISTANCE; (3) PORT DEVELOPMENT (AND ESPECIALLY HARPER PORT); AND (4) POWER AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS. PRESIDENT TUBMAN SAID PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAD SPECIFICALLY AND PERSONALLY PROMISED USG WOULD SUPPORT HARPER PORT PROJECT. TUBMAN SAID NEGOTIATIONS WITH ITALIANS ON PORT LOAN AND CONSITRUCTION WERE AT STANDSTILL BECAUSE OF TWO MOST RECENT COLLAPSES OF ROME GOVERNMENT. PRESIDENT REQUESTED USG REVIEW ITS EARLIER COMMITMENT.

11. DISCUSSION WAS HELD ABOUT JKF HOSPITAL, AND HOW IT COULD BE OPENED AND OPERATED. SECRETARY SAID EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE OPEN AT LEAST PART OF COMPLEX TO MINIMIZE DETERIORATION TO STRUCTURE BUILT WITH USG ASSISTANCE. GP-3.
ROGERS

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DRAFTED BY:S/CPR:PJDALY
APPROVED BY:C-RICHARD PEDERSEN
AF-MR. RIZIK
AF-MR. MARTIN
S/S-MR. BRANDT
---------- 047878

P 040122Z FEB 70
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 016912

SUBJECT: SEC VISIT AFRICA - GIFTS

SECRETARY ROGERS EXPECTS TO PRESENT FOLLOWING:

1. (ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT) MOON ROCK SAMPLE AND FLAG OF LIBERIA CARRIED TO THE MOON. BOTH ARE MOUNTED IN PRESENTATION BLOCK WITH INSCRIPTION "TO THE PEOPLE OF LIBERIA FROM RICHARD NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

2. PRESIDENT TUBMAN - VERMEIL DESK LIGHTER WITH SEALS OF SECRETARY OF STATE AND LIBERIA.

3. SECRETARY OF STATE GRIMES - VERMEIL DESK CALENDAR WITH SEALS OF SECRETARY OF STATE AND LIBERIA. ALSO FOUR ASSORTED BOOKS SUGGESTED BY USIA.

NO INSCRIBED PHOTOGRAPHS PER AMEMBASSY MONROVIA 142.

MRS. ROGERS EXPECTS TO PRESENT FOLLOWING:

1. MRS. TUBMAN - PAIR GORHAM FLORAL ARRANGEMENTS

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 STATE 016912

2. MRS. GRIMES - LEATHER HANDBAG

3. MATERNITY CENTER - POSSIBILITY OF APPROPRIATE GIFT
DEPENDENT UPON EMBASSY SUGGESTION REQUESTED STATE 10141

IF EMBASSY NOTES ANY OMISSION OR HAS REASON TO BELIEVE
ANY GIFTS LISTED NOT RPT NOT APPROPRIATE PLEASE NOTIFY BY
PRIORITY CABLE OFFICE OF PROTOCOL ATTENTION PATRICK DALY
WHO ASSIGNED PROTOCOL AND GIFT OFFICER FOR SECRETARYS TRIP.

PLEASE CABLE NAME OF GIFT OFFICER ASAP.
ROGERS

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501/49/3210

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DRAFTED BY: AF/W: HCMARTIN
APPROVED BY: AF: JPALMER 2ND
AF/W: VMMELBOURNE
AF: THEQUIMBY
PC: CPLUCAS SUB
S/S: MR KELLY

---------- 016261

R 240120Z APR 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 063438

EXDIS

SUBJ: PEACE CORPS DISSIDENCE

REF MONROVIA 1859

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM PALMER

1. PEACE CORPS WASHINGTON CONSIDERED SENDING TOP-LEVEL REPRESENTATIVE TO MONROVIA BUT DECIDED THIS WOULD PROBABLY BE USED BY DISSIDENTS TO ESCALATE DEMANDS AND EXACERBATE PROBLEM.

2. IN VIEW PARA 1 REFTEL, (WHICH AVAILABLE PC/W) WE ARE PREPARED DISCUSS QUESTION FURTHER WITH PEACE CORPS BUT FIRST WISH YOUR ASSESSMENT CURRENT SITUATION AND FURTHER INDICATION STRENGTH YOUR VIEWS EXPRESSED REFTEL. ROGERS

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CONFIDENTIAL 559

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54
ORIGIN AF 18

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USIA 12,RSR 01,/083 R

DRAFTED BY: AF/W:JGKORMANN
APPROVED BY: AF/W:DSSPIGLER
AF/AMB. MOORE
S/S: MR. KELLY
WHITE HOUSE: MR. MOOSE
---------- 082673

P 281842Z FEB 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 031599

SUBJECT: VP TOLBERT'S VISIT US

REF: MONROVIA 924

1. VP TOLBERT HAS BEEN SCHEDULED FOR APPOINTMENT WITH PRESIDENT FRIDAY MARCH 7 AT 12:15.

2. LETTER FROM PRESIDENT RESPONDING TO TOLBERT MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS ON INAUGURATION AND INITIALLY RAISING QUESTION OF COURTESY CALL IS AWAITING SIGNATURE.

3. LIBERIAN EMBASSY WASHINGTON HAS BEEN INFORMED OF APPOINTMENT.

4. AMBASSADOR MAY WISH TO CONVEY ABOVE TO VP TOLBERT.
RICHARDSON

CONFIDENTIAL

29

624

Mr. Hoveida

LDX CHANNEL MESSAGE COVER FORM

1. Sent by:

2. TO: WHSR
(Msg. No.) GHD

3. Transmitted by: STATE
Date & Time: DEC 27 7 19

4. Received by:
Date & Time:

5. Description: Tel to Monrovia re VP Tolbert's Visit to US

6. Clsfn & Controls: Confidential

7. No. of Pgs. 1

8. Precedence PRIORITY

9. Validated by: Kalmith Pauw

10. Deliver to: Dr. Henry A. Kissinger
The White House

For: Clearance X

Information

Per Request

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BEFORE TH. (EGRAM IS DELIVERED TO OC/T1(A), Room (

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

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Origin

Info

ACTION: Amembassy MONROVIA PRIORITY

STATE

SUBJECT: VP Tolbert's Visit US

Ref: Monrovia 924

1. VP Tolbert has been scheduled for appointment with President Friday March 7 at 12:15.

2. Letter from President responding to Tolbert message of congratulations on inauguration and initially raising question of courtesy call is awaiting ~~President's~~ signature.

3. Liberian Embassy Washington has been informed of appointment.

4. Ambassador may wish to convey above to VP Tolbert.

END

Drafted by: AF/W:JGKormann:vcs:2/27/69 | Tel. Ext. 7704 | Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF/W:DSSpigler

Clearances:
AF: Amb. Moore
S/S:
White House:

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Classification

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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DRAFTED BY:AF/W:JGKORMANN
APPROVED BY:AF/W:DSSPIGLER
AF/W:RMMELBOURNE AF:AMBASSADOR MOORE
AID/W:FSPENCER WHITE HOUSE:RMORRIS (SUBSTANCE)
66635
---------- 076701

P 272219Z FEB 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 031015

SUBJECT: VP TOLBERT VISIT US

REF: MONROVIA 924

1. WHILE DEPT APPRECIATES FACT THAT TOLBERT'S VISIT MAY AFFORD OPPORTUNITY FOR SOME STRAIGHT TALK, PARTICULARLY REGARDING US AID RELATIONS, DOES EMBASSY HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE TOLBERT CALL ON PRESIDENT WILL BE ANYTHING OTHER THAN COURTESY CALL? IS THERE POSSIBILITY HE WILL RAISE PORT HARPER DEVELOPMENT PROJECT OR OTHER MATTERS WITH PRESIDENT? REQUEST EMBASSY VIEWS SOONEST.

2. WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE EMBASSY COMMENTS ON STATEMENT IN "BATTELLE INTERIM REPORT ON ROADS AND HARBORS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTHEAST LIBERIA" THAT WITH MINOR IMPROVEMENTS TOTALING APPROXIMATELY DOLS 675,000 HARPER PORT CAN BE SIGNIFICANTLY ENHANCED. DREDGING OF HARBOR, INSTALLING BUOY, REPAIRING SEA WALL AND CAUSEWAY, ETC. WOULD ENABLE PORT TO INCREASE LOG HANDLING CAPACITY FROM 20,000 TO 100,000 LONG TONS PER YEAR. IN FINAL ANALYSIS THERE LITTLE CHANCE AT THIS STAGE OF SUPPORTING FULL BLOWN HARPER DEVELOPMENT SCHEME, PARTICULARLY WITH CONGRESS, IN FACE OF CUTS IN AID AND SOME EXPERTS' ASSESSMENTS PORT EXPANSION NOT ECONOMICALLY

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

JUSTIFIABLE. DEPARTMENT SHARES CONCERN EMBASSY AS EXPRESSED OVER PAST WEEKS ABOUT SCOPE OF POSSIBLE PROBLEMS LOOMING UP IN OUR RELATIONS WITH LIBERIA. WILL WELCOME ANY SUGGESTIONS WHICH WILL ENABLE US TO APPEAR FORTHCOMING, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME KEEPING IN FOCUS CURRENT GENERAL EMPHASIS ON ECONOMY. RICHARDSON

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ACTION AF 18

INFO CPR 02,JPM 04,H 02,NSC 10,O 02,OPR 03,P 04,RSC 01,SS 20,SY 04,

USIA 12,RSR 01,/083 W
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R 241538Z FEB 69
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6169

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MONROVIA 924

SUBJ: VP TOLBERT VISIT US.

REF: STATE 026811.

1. IN NOTE DATED FEB 23 GOL ACTING SECSTATE INFORMED ME THAT TOLBERT WILL BE IN US FROM MARCH 6-12 IN CONNECTION WITH BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE OF WHICH HE PRESIDENT. ACTING SECSTATE INDICATES THAT GOL HOPES IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR TOLBERT TO MAKE COURTESY CALL ON PRESIDENT NIXON.

2. COMMENT: THIS REINFORCES MY VIEW, EXPRESSED MONROVIA 413, THAT TUBMAN WISHES USE VISIT TO MEASURE PRESIDENT'S INTEREST MAINTAINING COOPERATION WITH LIBERIA. BROWN

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Department of State TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 199407

265Q
November 1, 7:40 PM 1971

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE

SUBJECT: MRS. NIXON TO HEAD US DELEGATION TO TOLBERT INAUGURAL

1. YOU SHOULD INFORM LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT SOONEST THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS DESIGNATED MRS. NIXON AS HIS PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE TO HEAD THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE INQUGURATION OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT, JANUARY 2-4.

2. USG WILL INFORM GOL OF FULL MEMBERSHIP OF US DELEGATION AT LATER TIME.

3. FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT WILL BE MADE BY WHITE HOUSE AT 11 A.M. EST NOVEMBER 2:

THE PRESIDENT HAS DESIGNATED MRS. NIXON AS HIS PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE TO HEAD THE US DELEGATION AT THE CEREMONIES MARKING THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM R. TOLBERT, JR., OF LIBERIA IN MONROVIA ON JANUARY 2-4, 1972. THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION WILL BE ANNOUNCED LATER. ROGERS
BT

Drafted by: AF/W - O R Aggrey
Approved by: S/S - Robert H Miller
Cleared by: AF - Mr Newsom
S/CPR - Mr Mosbacher
WH - Mr Wright

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JULY 26, 1971
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA IMMEDIATE 7629
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 134775

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

SUBJECT: US DELEGATION TO TUBMAN FUNERAL

REF: MONROVIA 3581 NODIS

1. ANNOUNCEMENT IMMINENT OF APPOINTMENT OF ROBERT FINCH, SENIOR PRESIDENTIAL COUNSELOR, AND FORMER SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE AS PRESIDENT NIXON'S REPRESENTATIVE AND HEAD OF US DELEGATION TO STATE FUNERAL OF PRESIDENT TUBMAN. NAMES OF OTHER MEMBERS OF DELEGATION WILL BE REPORTED ASAP SEPTEL. PLANS CALL FOR DEPARTURE CONTINENTAL US TUESDAY PM 27 JULY WITH ARRIVAL ROBERTSFIELD AM 28 JULY.

2. I WISH TO ASSURE YOU THIS CHOICE MADE WITH AWARENESS OF GOL PROTOCOL CONCERNS AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS REFTEL. FINCH HAS CABINET RANK. MOST IMPORTANT IS THAT PRESIDENT NIXON, WHO NOT IN POSITION TO MAKE TRIP HIMSELF, PERSONALLY CHOSE FINCH, A LONGTIME FRIEND, FOR THIS IMPORTANT MISSION. PRESIDENT TOLBERT, SECRETARY CRIMES AND OTHER LIBERIAN LEADERS WILL FIND HIM PARTICULARLY COMPREHENDING AND SYMPATHETIC INTERLOCUTOR ON LIBERIA'S PRESENT PREOCCUPATIONS AND ON CONTINUING STRENGTH AND VIABILITY OF OUR BI-LATERAL RELATIONS.

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3. I HAVE ACCEPTED AMBASSADOR PEAL'S INVITATION TO SPEAK AT WASHINGTON MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR PRESIDENT TUBMAN AT NATIONAL CATHEDRAL JULY 28.

4. YOU MAY DRAW ORALLY UPON PARAS 2 AND 3 AS APPROPRIATE IN INFORMING GOL OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE AND IN ASSURING GOL OF CONSTANCY OF USG ESTEEM AND FRIENDSHIP.

5. WE HOPE TO ANNOUNCE FULL DELEGATION HERE LATER TODAY.
ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: AF- WBCARTER,JR.
APPROVED BY: THE SECRETARY
CLEARANCES: S/S - MR. ELIOT
AF - MR. NEWSOM
AF/N - MR. AGGREY
WHITE HOUSE - MR. WRIGHT

NODIS

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NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS PROJECT

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8632
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 0843

NODIS

SECTO 118

FOR PRESIDENT FROM SECRETARY

1. I HAD A MOST PLEASANT STOP IN THE CAMEROON AND HELD EXTENSIVE CONVERSATIONS WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND PRESIDENT AHIDJO.

2. AHIDJO IN ADDITION TO BEING PRESIDENT OF HIS COUNTRY IS ALSO PRESIDENT THIS YEAR OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (HIS FONMIN ALSO CHAIRS THE OAU COMMITTEE OF FONMINS) AND HIS COUNTRY SERVES AS THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF CENTRAL AFRICAN AND MALAGASY STATES (OCAM).

3. BECAUSE OF AHIDJO'S LEADERSHIP IN THESE REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND HIS OWN SOUND AND CONSERVATIVE LEADERSHIP OF HIS OWN COUNTRY, HE HAS AN EXCELLENT GRASP OF THE NEED FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION AND MULTILATERAL AND MULTIDONOR APPROACHES.

4. IN BOTH THE MEETINGS WITH FONMIN AND PRESIDENT THE CAMEROONIANS EXPRESSED SATISFACTION AT OUR BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS AND OUR REGIONAL APPROACHES, THOUGH WE WERE NUDGED BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT IN THE GROUP OF SO-CALLED AID CONCENTRATION COUNTRIES. THE FONMIN STRESSED FURTHER U.S. CONSIDERATION FOR SUPPORT OF THE OCAM NATIONS.

5. USG WAS ALSO APPLAUDED FOR OUR APPROACHES IN DEVELOPING A DIALOGUE WITH THE RUSSIANS IN THE SALT TALKS, THE CHINESE AT WARSAW AND THE PROGRESS ON NPT.

6. AHIDJO FELT THE RESPONSIBILITY AND MADE HIS CASE PERSUASIVELY AND REASONABLY FOR SOLICITING FURTHER US UNDERSTANDING OF LIBERATION CURRENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. AS WAS THE CASE WITH KAUNDA, AHIDJO FEELS THERE IS MORE CHANCE OF PROGRESS ULTIMATELY OCCURING IN THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES, SWEST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

7. AS IN OTHER CASES WHEN THIS SUBJECT HAS ARISEN I DISCUSSED THE LIMITATIONS ON WHAT USG COULD DO. AHIDJO SAID HE APPRECIATED THE US COULD NOT AND SHOULD NOT CONSIDER MILITARY INTERVENTION BUT THAT HE AND OTHER AFRICANS HOPED THAT WE COULD BE MORE FORTHCOMING IN SUPPORT OF UNITED NATIONS JURISDICTION OVER SWA LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE AND USG'S NOT COOPERATING OR RECOGNIZING THE NEW REGIME IN RHODESIA. I, OF COURSE, EXPLAINED OUR CONTINUING DIALOGUE WITH THE PORTUGUESE IN URGING THEM TO BE MORE RESPONSIVE TO SELF DETERMINATION TRENDS IN THEIR AFRICAN TERRITORIES.

8. FOLLOWING MORNING MEETINGS THE PRESIDENT ENTERTAINED MY DELEGATION AND ME AT AN ELABORATE CAMEROONIAN LUNCHEON AT THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE.

9. I BELIEVE AHIDJO AND THE CAMEROONS HAVE A BRIGHT FUTURE IN THE CENTRAL WEST AFRICAN COMMUNITY OF NATIONS AND THAT THE COUNTRY IS A STABILIZING INFLUENCE.

WESTERFIELD

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